PARENTING PROCESSES IN BLACK AND MIXED RACE LGQ PARENT FAMILIES: RACIAL AND QUEER SOCIALIZATION

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This project seeks to fill three current gaps in the literature on lesbian, gay, and queer (LGQ) parents. First, that it is not a literature on parenting, per se. Instead, research has concentrated on same-sex parents themselves, and focused on whether characteristics of the parents (e.g., sexual orientation) impact characteristics of their children (e.g., gender identity, sexual orientation). Second, the LGQ parenting literature is not representative and fails to adequately include racial and class diversity. Very few studies (e.g., Moore, 2011) have investigated whether or how LGQ parent families negotiate race within their families, communities, and society. Most studies have used highly educated, White, middle and upper class, urban samples. However, in the United States, same-sex couples are more likely than heterosexual couples to be interracial, and to have non-white children (Movement Advancement Project, 2012). Third, LGQ parenting has demonstrated a paradox in that parents and children in these families seem to be doing well, although they consistently experience heteronormative bias. To address these issues, this embedded multiple case study investigates the processes of racial socialization and queer socialization in four Black and mixed race LGQ parent families with children between the ages of 14-18 years old. The overarching question this study seeks to address is: how do Black and mixed race LGQ parent families negotiate race, heteronormativity, and queering within their families and communities? Results indicate that parents engage in racial and queer socialization via direct, indirect, and time management strategies due to concern for children's wellbeing, and other intra- and interpersonal factors. The processes of racial and queer socialization resemble one another in form, content, and rationale, but parents vary in their level of engagement with each process as a function of its perceived relevance to their child, and the resources in their environment. Finally, children respond positively to both racial and queer socialization.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Approximately six million children and adults have at least one lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) parent (Gates, 2013). Research has focused primarily on lesbian and gay (LG) parent families, showing that they do at least as well as heterosexual comparisons across various psychological outcomes for both parents and children (American Psychological Association, 2005; Biblarz & Savci, 2010; Goldberg, Gartrell, & Gates, 2014; Patterson, 2000). However, some have argued that this "no differences" research implies that LG parent families are only acceptable and deserving of legal and social recognition if they are comparable to a (White) heterosexual gold standard (Riggs & Augoustinos, 2008). Additionally, scholars have noted that although the children of LG parents do appear to show some differences compared to children of heterosexual parents, differences do not always mean deficits (Stacey & Biblarz, 2001). This study seeks to extend our understanding of these families by filling three of the current gaps in the literature on LG parents, each of which is reviewed below.

First, given the focus on outcomes, the literature on LG parent families is not a literature on parenting, per se. Instead, the literature has concentrated on same-sex parents themselves, and focused on whether characteristics of the parents (e.g., sexual orientation, mental health) impact characteristics of their children (e.g., gender identity, sexual orientation, psychosocial and psychosexual functioning, peer relations). While the research on heterosexual parents has investigated multiple processes and domains of parenting, the LG parenting literature has had a much smaller scope. For example, rather than analyzing how LG parents teach their children about gender (i.e., through direct or indirect instruction, modeling, allocation of household chores, bedroom décor, clothing choices, etc.) or the content of parental messages about gender, studies have investigated whether parents' sexual orientation has a significant effect on children's gender identity or conformity to traditional gender stereotypes. Some information about parenting as a process can be gleaned from the existing literature, however (see Chapter 2).

Second, the literature has not explained the paradox of stigma and wellbeing among LG parent families. We know that stigma and discrimination against LG people is ubiquitous and has negative consequences for those individuals and their families. However, research also shows that the majority of LG parents and their children are doing well. For example, although the majority of the LG population functions well, studies have shown that LG adults are at increased risk for anxiety and mood disorders, suicidal ideation and suicide attempts, and problem drinking compared to heterosexuals (Herek & Garnets, 2007). Similarly, although the children of LG parents report experiencing prejudice and discrimination based on their parents' sexual orientation (Bos, Gartrell, Peyser, & van Balen, 2008; Bos, Gartrell, van Balen, Peyser, & Sandfort, 2008; Gartrell, Deck, Rodas, Peyser, & Banks, 2005; Mitchell, 1998), family functioning and child wellbeing are comparable or better than heterosexual parent families (using measures of child and adolescent psychosocial functioning, rates of substance abuse and other risk

behaviors, parent-child relationship quality, abuse). LG parent families of color, including mixed race LG parent families, experience stigma and discrimination based on race as well as sexual orientation and family composition. Yet research has not fully investigated this complexity or described the processes that produce these paradoxical results in LG parent families.

Finally, the LG parenting literature is not representative and fails to adequately include racial and class diversity. Most studies have used highly educated, White, middle and upper class, urban samples (e.g., Ackbar, 2011; Berkowitz, 2011a, 2011b, 2013; Berkowitz & Ryan, 2011; Breshears, 2011; Cohen & Kuvalanka, 2011; Gartrell, et al., 1996; Goldberg & Allen, 2007; Goldberg, Kashy, & Smith, 2012; Kane, 2006; Ryan & Berkowitz, 2009), and research has not critically investigated whether or how LG parent families negotiate race within their families, communities, and society. In their discussion of children's books related to LG parent families, Riggs and Augoustinos (2008) note that even books that claim to celebrate diversity have a tendency to reinforce a White, heterosexual standard for parenting. However, we know that LG parent families are ethnically and racially diverse. In fact, in the United States, same-sex couples are more likely than heterosexual couples to be interracial, and to have non-White children (Gates, 2013; Jepsen & Jepsen, 2002; Rosenfeld & Kim, 2005). Black and Latino same-sex couples are also more likely than White same-sex couples to be raising children (Movement Advancement Project, 2012). Single LG adults and same-sex couples who parent foster children are particularly likely to be parents of color (Movement Advancement Project, 2012).

To address these issues, the current study is focused on the practice of parental socialization (Grusec & Hastings, 2007; Hughes et al., 2006) within Black and mixed race lesbian, gay, and queer[1] (LGQ) parent families. In this chapter, I introduce the two theoretical frameworks that guide this study: parental socialization (Grusec & Hastings, 2007; Hughes et al., 2006) and queering (Oswald, Blume, & Marks, 2005). Then I review the literature on LG parent families through these lenses. I argue that in some Black and mixed race LGQ parent families, queer socialization is a parallel process to racial socialization that may explain why LGQ parent families do well despite societal heterosexism.

Theoretical Framework

Parental socialization. The study of parenting is a vast and complex field. To illustrate, the most recent edition of the Handbook of Parenting (Bornstein, 2002) includes 5 volumes, or a total of 80 chapters. The concept of parenting is itself made up of multiple domains. For example, the National Extension Parent Education Model (NEPEM; Smith, Cudaback, Goddard, & Myers-Walls, 1994) defines

[1] I use the acronym LG when referring to the academic literature because research has focused predominantly on individuals who identify as lesbian or gay. I use the term LGQ when referring to the parents in this study because lesbian, gay, and queer are the identity labels they use to describe themselves.

parenting as a set of skills that can be learned, and describes 6 core skills of parenting: caring for self, understanding, guiding, nurturing, motivating, and advocating.

In this study, I am interested in one parenting practice: socialization, which is defined generally as "a process in which an individual's standards, skills, motives, attitudes, and behaviors change to conform to those regarded as desirable and appropriate for his or her present and future role in society" (Parke & Buriel, 2008, p. 95). Socialization is a key element of parenting, and is closely linked with the NEPEM's definitions of the parenting skills of nurturing, motivating, and advocating. The study of socialization is also immense; the Handbook of Socialization is over 1,000 pages (Grusec & Hastings, 2007).

Many models of socialization exist. This study utilizes Parke and colleagues' (1994) tripartite model, which was originally formulated to describe the relationship between the family and children's peer groups. This model describes parents as having three roles in the socialization of their children: parents as interactors, parents as direct instructors, and parents as providers of opportunity. First, parents indirectly teach their children about what is desirable and appropriate in society by means of their interactions with them (e.g., childrearing practices, interactive styles). Second, parents socialize children directly by explicitly educating them about appropriate ways of interacting with others in their culture and society. Third, parents socialize their children by managing children's social lives and interactions with individuals outside the family system. My interests in the current study focus on socialization with respect to race, gender, sexuality, and family.

Racial socialization. The parenting practice of racial[2] socialization is common within families of color, and has received great attention in the literature on these families (Brown, 2008; Hughes, 2003; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990; Tran & Lee, 2010). Racial socialization is a process by which "parents raise children to have positive self-concepts in an environment that is racist and sometimes hostile" (Thomas, Speight, & Witherspoon, 2010, p. 1). Further, racial socialization has been defined as "a set of behaviors, communications, and interactions between parents and children… concerning the nature of one's racial status as it relates to personal and group identity, intergroup and individual relationships, and one's position in the social hierarchy" (Brown, 2008, p. 33). In their review of the literature on racial socialization, Hughes and colleagues (2006) defined four components of racial socialization that have been identified by research on families of color.

[2]The term race is a socially and politically constructed category that is not the same as the term ethnicity, although these words of often used interchangeably in research and everyday life. Ethnicities may include multiple races; for example, some ethnic Latinas/os identify their race as Black, while others identify their race as White. Similarly, the terms racial socialization and ethnic socialization do not necessarily refer to the same phenomena, although their conceptual and theoretical domains overlap substantially in recent research.

The first component is cultural socialization, which involves teaching children about their racial heritage or history, promoting cultural customs and traditions, and encouraging racial pride. Preparation for bias is the second component, and refers to parenting practices that promote children's awareness of racial discrimination and prepare them to cope with it. The third component is termed promotion of mistrust, which describes parenting practices that emphasize the need for wariness and distrust in interracial interactions. Finally, egalitarianism and silence about race (or mainstream socialization; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Thornton, 1997), has been identified as parenting practices that avoid discussions of race with children, or encourage children to value individual qualities such as achievement and hard work over racial group membership.

Research has also shown that there is variability in the types of racial socialization strategies parents use, and the effects that different strategies have on child outcomes. Racial socialization has been linked to the wellbeing of people of color, although it has historically been investigated primarily among African Americans. For African Americans, parental racial socialization has been linked to positive self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002), effective strategies for coping with discrimination (Scott, 2003), as well as adolescents' academic achievement (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009; Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006), psychological adjustment (Neblett, et al., 2008) and resiliency (Brown, 2008).

The outcomes of racial socialization appear to be similar for Latinos/as with respect to self-esteem (Telzer & Garcia, 2009), and ethnic identity development (Umaña-Taylor, & Fine, 2004), although the strategies used by Latino/a parents may differ from African American parents. For example, Hughes (2003) found that although the entire sample of 273 urban African American, Dominican, and Puerto Rican parents reported high levels of racial/ethnic socialization, Puerto Rican and Dominican parents were less likely than African American parents to use the preparation for bias strategy. Research on racial socialization among Asian Americans is extremely limited, but studies suggest that racial socialization in this group uses similar strategies (Tran & Lee, 2010; Yee, Debaryshe, Yuen, Kim, & McCubbin, 2007) and is also related to children's ethnic identity (Cheng & Kuo, 2000; Tran & Lee, 2010), academic performance (Yee, et al., 2007), social competence (Tran & Lee, 2010), and career aspirations (Kawaguchi, 2003).

Some research reports variation in racial socialization based on the gender of parents and children. Racial socialization has been shown to vary as a function of parental gender, such that mothers tend to participate in racial socialization more than fathers (Lamb & Lamb, 1976; Thornton, 1997), and mothers have a stronger effect on children's racial/ethnic identification than fathers (González, Umaña-Taylor, & Bámaca, 2006; Lamb & Lamb, 1976; Rumbaut, 1994). Racial socialization may also be related to children's gender. In their study of 98 Latino/White biethnic adolescents, for example, González,

Umaña-Taylor, and Bámaca (2006), found that male children receive more direct ethnic socialization than female children. Other studies, among African Americans only, have found that the content of racial socialization varies by children's gender such that male children are more likely to receive parental messages about negative stereotypes and discrimination than female children (Thomas, & Speight, 1999), and female children are more likely to receive messages about achievement and racial pride than males (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes, et al., 2006). However, other studies have found no significant differences between male and female children with respect to racial socialization (Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Scott, 2003), even when other factors such as child's age and method of assessment are taken into consideration (Hughes, et al., 2006).

Racial socialization also varies as a function of parental socioeconomic and immigrant status, and children's age. Cultural socialization and preparation for bias are more frequent among recent immigrants than those who have lived in the US longer (Cheng & Kuo, 2000; Umaña-Taylor, & Fine, 2004). Parents from more educated and higher income families (both immigrant and non-immigrant) perceive more racial discrimination and participate in more cultural socialization and preparation for bias than less educated and lower income parents (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, et al., 2006). Older children receive more messages from parents related to cultural socialization and preparation for bias than younger children (Cheng & Kuo, 2000; Hughes, 2003; Hughes, et al., 2006). In the US, geographic region and neighborhood characteristics such as racial composition also appear to influence racial socialization. Thornton's (1997) analysis of parents in the National Survey of Black Americans is the only regional comparison of racial socialization, and found higher rates in the Northeastern and Western United States compared to the South. Preparation for bias is more common among integrated neighborhoods compared to predominantly Black or predominantly White neighborhoods (Hughes, et al., 2006).

Racial and ethnic identity among racial and ethnic minority youth has been one of the most commonly investigated topics in the racial socialization literature (Hughes, et al, 2006) because racial and ethnic minority parents have an important effect on the racial and ethnic identities of their children. Similarly, the sexuality and gender identity of children raised by LG parents has been a focal topic, as I discuss later, based on the assumption that sexual and gender minority parents have an effect on the sexuality and gender of their children. Although the racial socialization literature has addressed a similar paradox (How do racial minority parents raise healthy, well-adjusted children in a racist society?), concerns within that literature have been rooted in racial pride, rather than the homophobia that initiated the first studies of LG parents. In contrast to the historical "no differences" stance of the literature on LG parents, the racial socialization literature has presented racial minority families as different from White families in multiple, positive ways. However, the data on racial socialization (apparently) comes from

heterosexual parents only. LG parents in Black and mixed race families may be doing racial socialization differently because their status as sexual minorities forces them to face the unique challenge of dealing with heteronormativity.

Queering. Heteronormativity has been defined as "an ideology that promotes gender conventionality, heterosexuality, and family traditionalism as the correct way for people to be" (Oswald, Blume, & Marks, 2005, p. 143). In other words, heteronormativity is a vast and pervasive matrix of ideas, institutions, norms, and behaviors that both constitutes and reifies what is considered "normal" with respect to gender, sexuality, and family. However, the ways that it privileges and normalizes heterosexuality, and gender and family conventionalism are often unacknowledged and taken for granted, both in research and in everyday life.

Heteronormativity is composed of three binaries: 1) real versus deviant gender; 2) natural versus unnatural sexuality; and 3) genuine versus pseudo family (Oswald, et al., 2005). Each binary is thought to have clearly distinguishable and opposite poles, one of which is privileged over the other (e.g., "genuine family" is a clearly delineated category that is the polar opposite of, and superior to, "pseudo family"). For example, individuals with "natural" (heterosexual) sexuality have more power and legitimacy in society than those with unnatural (homosexual) sexuality (Oswald, et al., 2005, p. 144). Heteronormativity not only marginalizes individuals and families that do not adhere to its hierarchically organized categories (e.g., gays and lesbians), but also restricts and regulates those who do (i.e., heterosexuals; Jackson, 2006).

Oswald and colleagues (2005) define queering as "acts and ideas that resist heteronormativity by challenging the gender, sexuality, and/or family binaries" (p. 146). The queering framework describes gender, sexuality, and family as sites of tension in which the processes of heteronormativity are resisted or accommodated as they encounter the queering processes of complex gendering, complex sexualities, and complex families. In this paper, I view parenting as a process that occurs within these sites of tension and propose the term queer socialization to describe the ways in which LGQ parents are transmitting heteronormativity or queerness with regard to gender, sexuality, and family to their children. Further, I situate queer socialization as analogous to racial socialization. In the same way that racial socialization can be described as negotiating the tension between racism and racial pride, queer socialization means negotiating to the tension between heteronormative pressures and queering opportunities.

Queer socialization. The lives of children in LG parent families may resemble those of racial minorities in terms of socialization. Racial socialization, or the process by which racial minorities learn about their racial history and its place within the larger society, is one strategy that parents use to deal with issues of race in the United States. In Black and mixed race families with LGQ parents, we may also see a parallel process of queer socialization, by which children of LGQ parents learn about queer culture and its place in society.

I define queer culture as the patterns of thinking, believing, and behaving, produced mainly by and for LGBTQ individuals. Queer culture has evolved over time through the social and political efforts of LGBTQ people to change popular assumptions about sexuality and gender, and create communities for themselves (Irvine, 1994). Evidence of queer culture can be seen in institutions that serve queer individuals (e.g., community centers, churches, TV stations, among others), art (e.g. fashion, literature, movies), language (i.e. queer slang), and geographic patterns (e.g. the existence of "gayborhoods" in urban centers such as Chicago and San Francisco; Irvine, 1994).

Recall that racial socialization is composed of four components: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race. Queer socialization may take similar forms. For example, direct queer-specific cultural socialization (Hughes, et al., 2006) related to queer pride, and the diversity of gender and sexuality. Hughes and colleagues (2006) provide various examples of cultural socialization in their review: "talking about important historical or cultural figures; exposing children to culturally relevant books, artifacts, music, and stories; celebrating cultural holidays" (p.749), among others. Examples of these types of queer cultural socialization are found in LG parent families, although they have not been named as socialization. LG parents report actively participating in the queer community (e.g., pride parades; Bos, Gartrell, Peyser, et al., 2008), and exposing their children to other LG parent families through social networks and in storybooks, even when they have to make a concerted effort to do so. For example, LG parents in Ackbar's (2011) study reported altering the endings of stories (e.g., "Cinderella realized it was pretty shallow to pick a guy who wanted someone based on the size of her foot, so she told him to get lost, she went to university, got a job and found someone who loved her for who she was," p. 64), or the pronouns of characters (e.g. using feminine pronouns for both parents in the Berenstain Bears to make them a lesbian couple, p. 64) when reading to their children. Some gay fathers who conceived their children with surrogates celebrate their children's conception day in addition to their birthday (i.e. *celebrating cultural holidays*; Mitchell & Green, 2007). Through these examples, we see LG parents encouraging their children to resist mainstream cultural norms, and internalize queer understandings of relationships and families. Queer socialization appears to have a lasting impact on children. For example, many of the adult children of LG parents in Goldberg's (2007) qualitative interviews were culturally queer (Garner, 2004); that is, they

maintained their connection and involvement in the queer community, even though the majority identified as heterosexual themselves.

LG parents have also been shown to discuss the existence of discrimination toward LG individuals with their children (i.e. *preparation for bias*; Bos & Gartrell, 2010) in order to prepare their children for lives in a heteronormative society. For example, lesbian mothers report roleplaying positive responses to homophobia with their children (Gartrell, et al., 1999). One lesbian mother in Breshears' (2011) work exemplified egalitarianism when she explained to her child that their family structure was normal, and merely one example of many:

> [Your friends'] families all have moms and dads, but… a lot of people in other places might have two moms, they might have two dads, they may only have one mom or one dad, and they might be raised by their grandparents. Our family structure [is] okay the way it [is]. (p. 279)

Promotion of mistrust appears to be the least frequent form of racial socialization (Hughes, et al., 2006), and the literature on LG parents does not appear to reflect it; possibly because this form of socialization has not been directly addressed in LG parent families. However, it is possible that LG parents may promote mistrust of individuals who identify with groups that have historically discriminated against gender and sexual minorities such as conservative political and/or religious groups.

Before reviewing the literature on LG parenting, I identify and briefly discuss three additional theoretical perspectives that shape my thinking: identity, intersectionality, and community context.

Identity, intersectionality, and community context. Although they are not the primary focus of this study, identity, intersectionality, and community context are important in understanding the two parenting behaviors addressed here: racial socialization and queer socialization. Identity refers to a person's sense of self (Stryker, 1980), and each individual has many identities (e.g., race, gender, sexuality, parental status, profession, class), related to social roles and statuses, which connect to each other in complex, non-additive ways. Intersectionality views identities as overlapping pieces of the self that work in conjunction to privilege and hinder individuals (Walby, Armstrong, & Strid, 2012; Zinn & Dill, 1996). In this study I examine parental socialization practices in Black and mixed race LGQ parent families who experience varying degrees of privilege and disadvantage related to their race, gender, sexuality, and family composition.

Identity salience refers to the degree of importance or centrality an individual places on an identity and is related to racial socialization. For example, parents of color who have higher racial identity salience participate in racial socialization more often (Hughes, 2003; Hughes, et al., 2006). If queer socialization is in fact similar to racial socialization, then it is likely that the salience of parents' identity as sexual minorities may impact the amount of queer socialization their children are exposed to.

Salience of racial and sexual identity may also affect familial processes through its connection to community context. Community context refers not only to characteristics of the residential community such as climate toward LGBTQ individuals and people of color, but the extent to which individuals participate in and feel attached to various communities (e.g., the queer community, racial community, residential community, religious community). For example, Bos and colleagues (2008) found that participation in the broader LGBTQ community moderates the effect of homophobic discrimination on psychosocial outcomes in the children of lesbian parents. Individuals' and family's perceptions of difference within their environments may be another pathway through which identity and racial socialization connect. For example, Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) investigated ecological influences on family ethnic socialization among 513 Mexican origin adolescents and found that family ethnic socialization increased when there were lower percentages of other Mexican origin students at the teens' schools. In an ethnographic comparison of four small US cities, Brown-Saracino (2015) found that sexual minority women in cities with lower concentrations of lesbian headed households had stronger sexual minority identities than sexual minority women in cities with higher concentrations of lesbian headed households, although they expressed feelings of "outsiderness" (p.38).

In sum, this study seeks to integrate the sexual and racial minority literatures by applying the queering framework to a study of racial socialization among LGQ parents while being sensitive to identity, intersectionality, and community context. In the next chapter, I review the existing literature on LG parenting.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

LG Parenting

It is not my goal to compare the fitness of LG and heterosexual parents; this has been done extensively elsewhere (e.g. Ackbar, 2011; Allen & Burrell, 1997; APA, 2005; Crowl, Ahn, & Baker, 2008; Gates, 2013; Goldberg, et al., 2014; Kane, 2006; Moore & Stambolis-Ruhstorfer, 2013; Stacey & Biblarz, 2001). All of this research finds that the common stereotypes about the unsuitability of same-sex parents are not supported by empirical data; rather, the successful development and socialization of children is not negatively impacted by parents' sexual orientation, gender, or biological relatedness to children (Bos, Goldberg, van Gelderen, & Gartrell, 2012; Grusec & Hastings, 2007). In sum, research shows that LG parents and their children are not pathological, and having LG parents is not a risk factor on its own. Instead, LG parent families often live in pathologizing environments: repeated discrimination and bullying from outside sources can be detrimental to psychosocial functioning and self-esteem (Bos, Gartrell, van Balen, Peyser, & Sandfort, 2008; van Gelderen, Gartrell, Bos, & Hermanns, 2009). I seek to move beyond the no differences framework by examining parenting processes that may be unique to LGQ parent families.

Information about queering in general can be found in the literature on LG parenting. For example, LG parents are queering by instilling an appreciation of difference in their children. Children of LG parents appear to be more open minded and accepting of diversity (Goldberg, 2007; Lynch & Murray, 2000), and as adults, many children of LG parents report choosing romantic partners and friends who have liberal political views or are open-minded and accepting of diversity, and participating in activism related to LGBTQ rights (Goldberg, 2007). In general, lesbian mothers place less value on their children's conformity to social norms (Bos, van Balen, & van den Boom, 2004). Because LG couples are more likely to be interracial (Farr & Patterson, 2009; Rosenfeld & Kim, 2005), and their children are more likely to be racial minorities (Gates, 2013), children may experience diversity in multiple forms in LG parent families.

If we accept the notion that LG parent families are queering gender, sexuality, and/or family to some extent, then the next step is to investigate the processes and content of said queering. It is important to note that although LG parents are queering sexuality by virtue of identifying as sexual minorities, this identity may be the only non-heteronormative aspect of their families and being in a same-sex relationship does not imply that these parents also participate in queering gender or family. On the contrary, research suggests many LG parents conform to various heteronormative expectations and behaviors to avoid placing themselves, their children, and families at risk (Ackbar, 2011; Berkowitz, 2013; Folgero, 2008; Kane, 2006). Furthermore, LG parents who tend to accommodate heteronormative

pressures may take advantage of occasional opportunities for queering in certain domains (Berkowitz & Ryan, 2011).

Thus, in this section, in addition to discussing *what* LG parents may be queering (gender, sexuality, and family), I use concepts and processes from the socialization literature to better understand *how* these LGB parent families may be queering. My review of the literature is organized around the three queering sites described in Oswald, et al.'s (2005) queering model, and for each queering site below (gender, sexuality, and family), I discuss the ways that LG parents are queering, as well as the ways that they are not.

Queering gender. Gay men tend to describe themselves as more feminine, and lesbian women tend to describe themselves as more masculine, than same-sex heterosexual peers (Lippa, 2005). However, many studies have reported no significant or meaningful differences in gender identity among children of LG and heterosexual parents (Allen & Burrell, 1997; Crowl, et al., 2008; Golombok, Spencer, & Rutter, 1983; Patterson, 1996), although studies have shown that parents' beliefs and attitudes about gender do influence their children's attitudes toward and expression of gender (e.g., Kane, 2006; McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003). For example, Fulcher, Sutfin, and Patterson (2008), in a comparison of lesbian and heterosexual couple families, found that aspects of parents' indirect gender socialization (e.g. attitudes about gender, or gendered behaviors such as the division of labor) were more strongly related to children's gender development than parental sexual orientation.

LG parents may be queering gender through direct socialization practices such as instruction, as well as indirect socialization such as modeling. Lesbian mothers in Bos and Sandfort (2010) reported placing significantly less direct pressure on their children to conform to gender stereotypes, compared to heterosexual mothers and fathers. Children in these families appear to internalize and model this behavior by displaying less gender bias; that is, they were less likely to report that their gender was superior to others (Bos & Sandfort, 2010). LG parents report liberal attitudes toward gender and parenting (Ackbar, 2011; Sutfin, Fulcher, Bowles, & Patterson, 2008), which may influence the way they socialize gender in their children. For example, lesbian parents in Sutfin et al. (2008) who reported liberal attitudes about gender created less traditionally gendered environments for their children (e.g., bedroom decorations), and their children reported more flexible attitudes toward gender roles. Goldberg (2007) also found evidence of complex gendering among children with at least one LGB parent, who reported feeling free from traditional gender roles, placing a high value on gender equality in their romantic relationships, and being able to pursue non-traditional activities and careers for their gender.

LG parents queer gender by accepting and supporting gender nonconformity in their children (particularly in daughters; Ackbar, 2011; Bos & Sandfort, 2010; Kane, 2006; Sutfin et al., 2008; Vaccaro, 2010). There is evidence that children in LG parent families display fewer gender stereotyped behaviors

(Goldberg, Kashy, & Smith, 2012; Stacey & Biblarz, 2001; Sutfin et al., 2008). For example, boys in fatherless families display more feminine, but no fewer masculine traits than boys raised in mother-father homes (notably, there was no significant difference between single heterosexual mothers and lesbian mother homes; MacCallum & Golombok, 2004). LG parents in Ackbar's (2011) study described queering gender by avoiding stereotypical activities and clothing for their children, both because their children preferred non-normative activities and because parents actively encouraged these behaviors (approximately one third of parents reported actively encouraging gender nonconformity). Examples of parental encouragement of gender nonconformity include allowing daughters to wear masculine clothing, buying lipstick for sons and allowing them to paint their nails, reassuring sons that it is okay to take sewing class in school, and avoiding gender stereotyping in the assignment of household chores (Ackbar, 2011). Additionally, some parents reported actively challenging stereotypical representations of gender in their children's lives (e.g., by changing storybook character's pronouns to make female construction workers and male dancers; Ackbar, 2011, p. 64).

LG parents also participate in heteronormative gendering, possibly because some LG parents have essentialist ideas about gender (Ackbar, 2011; Berkowitz, 2011b). For example, LG parents in Kane's (2006) study reported discouraging their sons from having any association with feminine personality traits (passivity), behaviors (crying, dancing), and toys (dolls), even though these parents did not associate gender nonconformity with homosexuality. Some LG parents also report a desire to have same-sex children because they find different-sex bodies foreign, and do not feel they could be good role models for different-sex children (Berkowitz & Ryan, 2011).

Lesbian mothers and gay fathers sometimes stress the need for gender role models in their children's lives, citing heteronormative notions about their children's development being affected by the lack of a close influence from different-sex adults (Folgero, 2008; Goldberg & Allen, 2007). Although LG parents hold a spectrum of views related to gender role models for their children, many LG parents report seeking these role models due to worries about societal norms, their children's development, their children's need to "bond," and feelings that entirely same-sex environments may not be "fair" to their children (Goldberg & Allen, 2007). For example, even though lesbian mothers in Gartrell et al.'s (1996) study did not feel that there are any gender-specific traits involved in good role modeling, they reported a desire for their children to have exposure to "good and loving" male role models in their lives.

Heteronormative gender socialization may be due to the fact that LG parents, compared to heterosexual parents, feel particularly responsible for their children's gender performance, especially parents of sons (Ackbar, 2011; Kane, 2006). Most of these parents reported feeling judged by others about their child's gender non-conformity, or worrying that others (adults as well as peers at school) would harass or ridicule their children for gender non-conforming appearance or behaviors. Some LG

parents report encouraging their children to behave in more normative ways after encountering resistance from teachers or other adults in the child's life, even if they had encouraged gender non-conformity in the past (Ackbar, 2011). Parents may also occasionally allow family members to give children gendered toys that they disapprove of in order to avoid conflict (Ackbar, 2011). These parents are aware of societal assumptions about the inadequacy of LG parents, and the stereotype that LG parents "make" their children gay or lesbian. Therefore, they worry that gender transgressions may reflect poorly on them as parents, or may have negative consequences for their children's development, and concede to heteronormative pressures to raise children with traditional gender.

Queering sexuality. Research shows that the children of LG parents are not more likely than the children of heterosexual parents to identify as lesbian or gay (Allen & Burrell, 1997; Anderssen, Amlie, & Ytterøy, 2002; Bozett, 1988; Crowl, et al., 2008; Golombok, et al., 1983; Golombok & Tasker, 1996; Tasker & Golombok, 1995, 1997). However, some studies have shown that the children of lesbian mothers are more likely than the children of heterosexual parents to question their sexuality (Bos & Sandfort, 2010; Goldberg, 2007; Golombok & Tasker, 1996; Tasker & Golombok, 1995). Children of LG parents may question their sexuality more than children raised by heterosexual parents not only because they have non-heterosexual role models who expose them to orientations other than heterosexuality, but also because they feel they will be accepted and supported if they identify as LG because they have LG identified parents.

LG parents may be queering sexuality through both direct and indirect socialization. For example, LG parents directly queer sexuality when they teach their children that heterosexuality is not the only acceptable sexual orientation (Cohen & Kuvalanka, 2011), when they challenge heteronormativity in public (e.g. after others assume they are heterosexual; Goldberg, 2012), and when they participate in political and educational efforts aimed at public acceptance of sexual diversity (Gartrell, et al., 1999). Adult children of LGB parents in Goldberg's (2007) study reported that their parents had taught them that sexuality is fluid and dynamic, and it is best to view sexuality on a continuum, rather than a binary. Additionally, these parents taught children that questioning and exploring one's sexuality are normal. LG parents may also queer sexuality indirectly by failing to uphold and reproduce heteronormativity for their children. For example, by openly showing affection around their children, LG parents are demonstrating that there are forms of sexuality other than heterosexuality.

However, sexual socialization goes beyond teaching children about sexual orientation, and includes "an understanding of ideas, beliefs and values, shared cultural symbols, meanings and codes of conduct" (Shtarkshall, Santelli, & Hirsch, 2007, p. 116) related to sexuality. Cohen and Kuvalanka's (2011) qualitative study of 10 White, Midwestern, lesbian mothers found that when asked what they teach their children about sexuality, lesbian mothers reported discussing values related to sexuality, such as the

importance of safety and responsibility in sexual relationships, as well as beliefs such as "sexuality is normal and healthy" (p. 298) and a desire for their children to feel comfortable as sexual beings, free of guilt and shame about their bodies and/or sexual activity.

LG parent families may be queering sexuality by not assuming their children will be heterosexual, and by speaking directly and positively with their children about sex, sexuality, and reproduction. Additionally, by openly discussing children's birth stories, LG parents are queering sexuality by separating it from procreation (Cohen & Kuvalanka, 2011). One lesbian mother in Cohen and Kuvalanka's (2011) study described how she explained her son's birth story:

> The story is... "It takes a sperm and an egg, and we're both women so we didn't happen to have any sperm...and so we found a guy that we really liked, and we chose his sperm and it got sent to the doctor, and the doctor put it inside of Momma Abbie and it met up with her egg and it made you" ... so it's a very explicit process and there's nothing about it that has really anything to do with sex... (p. 298)

Another mother noted: "I didn't use analogies like 'we found you on a doorstep' or 'you were delivered by a stork' or anything of that nature" (p. 300). Thus, as Mitchell (1998) aptly points out, unlike most heterosexual parents, the story of how children come into being in planned LG parent families involves more than heterosexual intercourse and reproduction, but "the birds, the bees... and the sperm banks." Honesty about sex, sexuality, and reproduction appears to be very important to LG parents when discussing these issues with their children (at least to lesbian mothers; Cohen & Kuvalanka, 2011; Mitchell, 1998). Discussing sexual orientation and sexual activity separately from procreation is profoundly different than heterosexual scripts regarding sexuality, and may have a significant impact on how the children of LGQ parents come to understand their own sexuality.

Lesbian and gay parents are inherently queering sexuality by identifying as non-heterosexual. However, although lesbian co-mothers and gay co-fathers are queering sexuality as couples, they may not be queering sexuality with respect to their children. Unlike racial minorities, whose parents often have the same racial identity as their children, sexual minorities are often raised by heterosexual parents. This means that they may be less likely to have experienced queer sexuality in their families growing up (Battle & Crum, 2007), and may have even received messages aimed at discouraging homosexuality (Martin, 2009). When these children mature and become parents, they may socialize their children in similarly heteronormative ways with regard to sexuality despite their own LG identities. For example, 7 out of 18 queer identified young adults with lesbian or bisexual mothers in Kuvalanka and Goldberg's (2009) qualitative study reported their parents had less than supportive responses to their children's coming out as queer. Additionally, lesbian mothers report decreasing their openness about their sexuality to shield their preadolescents from homophobia (Gartrell, et al., 2005), and even lesbian mothers do not

always talk to their children openly about how two men conceive children together (Cohen & Kuvalanka, 2011).

Queering family. In addition to the fact that LG parent families are centered on non-heterosexual unions, same-sex couples are queering family by constructing and defining family in increasingly diverse ways. LG parents are queering family by challenging norms about the superiority of male-female coupling and biological ties (Berkowitz, 2011b) by raising children who are not their biological relatives. For example, lesbians and gay men are more likely to create their families by adopting and fostering children than heterosexuals (Gates, 2013), and lesbians have reported more openness to transracial adoption than heterosexual parents (Goldberg, 2009). Additionally, lesbians and gay men often use assisted reproduction technologies such as donor insemination and surrogacy (Berkowitz, 2013).

LG parents may also queer family by including more than just parents and children in their definitions of family. For example, many LG parent families consider children's biological parents (surrogates, sperm donors, ex- partners, birth mothers) as important figures in their children's lives (Berkowitz, 2013; Bos, et al., 2012). Children and parents report that these individuals, who may be considered "outside" the heteronormative nuclear family, are important members of their families (Berkowitz, 2013; Berkowitz & Marsiglio, 2007; Bos, et al., 2012). For example, lesbian parent families may involve sperm provider "uncles" or "spuncles" in their children's lives (Flacks, 2009; Gamson, 2015; Radbord, 2013). Conversely, LG parent families often do not include individuals traditionally considered family members in their definitions of family (e.g. biological parents); children of lesbian mothers are generally unconcerned about not having a father (Gartrell, et al., 2005). LG individuals may also form queer multi-parent families (Folgero, 2008; Vaccaro, 2010), consisting of lesbian mothers and gay fathers sharing custody of children. For example, one of the queer families in Vaccaro's (2010) study consisted of a biological mother, her female partner, a biological father, and two partnered gay men. One family in Folgero's (2008) study was two children, two partnered gay males, a biological mother and her female partner who had used a known sperm donor.

Families formed by LG parents are queering family in their unique struggle to create a cohesive queer family identity (Breshears, 2011; Goldberg & Kuvalanka, 2012; Vaccaro, 2010), and make decisions about whether and to whom to disclose their family structure (Gartrell et al., 2000, 2005). That is, without legal or social recognition of their relationships, many families must take steps to construct an identity for themselves as a family (the Supreme Court ruling in Obergefell v. Hodges that struck down bans against same-sex marriage occurred after I designed this study and after the majority of existing research was conducted and published). For example, parents in a few of Vaccaro's (2011) multi-parent families drafted (non-legally binding) "contracts," which outlined each members' responsibility to the family, and what would happen in the event of a couples' separation or a family member's death.

LG parents also struggle as co-parents, and with interactions with their family of origin and larger communities. For example, non-biological lesbian mothers report feelings of jealousy surrounding their partner's connection to their child during breastfeeding (Gartrell, et al., 1996), and many grandparents are not open about their LG grandchild's family (Gartrell, et al., 1999). LG members of multi-parent families report simultaneous feelings of isolation from the LGBTQ community and from (heterosexual) parents due to the non-traditional structure of their queer family (Vaccaro, 2010). For example, many of the parents in Vaccaro's (2010) multi-parent families reported feeling "too queer," even for other LG parents.

The literature suggests that LG parents, lesbian mothers in particular, may be queering family through their egalitarian and active involvement in child rearing (Gartrell, et al., 1999; Gartrell et al., 2006). In contrast to the traditional heteronormative model in which mothers are homemakers and fathers are financial providers, coupled LG parents appear to divide housework more evenly, and make informed decisions about their children's schooling. For example, parents actively seek diversity in their children's schools: in the NLLFS, 87% of lesbian mothers of two-year-olds intended to enroll their children in schools with racial, class, gender, and cultural diversity among students and teachers (Gartrell, et al., 1999), and 78% of these mothers had done so by the time their children were age 5 (Gartrell, et al., 2005).

Another way that LG parents queer family is by conceptualizing their parenting as activism (Berkowitz, 2011a; Broad, Alden, Berkowitz, & Ryan, 2008; Vaccaro, 2010), and speaking openly about these views with others. For example, some LG parents challenge others' assumptions of heterosexuality when they are alone with their children in public (Gartrell, et al., 1999; Goldberg, 2012). LG parents speak openly with children about their conception stories (Cohen & Kuvalanka, 2011; Gartrell, et al., 2000; Mitchell, 1998), and children with LG parents have been found to answer honestly when peers ask questions about their families, including questions about parents' sexual orientation, sperm donors, birth mothers, and surrogates (Berkowitz, 2013; Gartrell et al., 2000).

LG parent families may also be heteronormative. For example, lesbians may divide housework using traditionally gendered division of labor in which the more masculine partner performs the "male" tasks and the feminine partner does more childcare (Ackbar, 2011; Moore, 2008, 2011). Although gay fathers are queering gender by challenging the idea that mothering must be done by female bodies, Berkowitz (2011b) notes that gay men "can be mothers without having to be a wife" (p. 529) and create heteronormative families by using their gender (and often race and class) privilege to outsource domestic labor to women and thus retain the traditionally male provider role. Additionally, gay men envision their prospective families through the (hetero) normative experience of monogamous coupling and child rearing, in which some gay fathers describe themselves as mothers (Berkowitz, 2011b). These views are heteronormative in that these men place their feelings and experiences into an existing social category rather than create a new space for themselves as nurturing male parents (Berkowitz, 2011b). Further,

some gay men report a preference for gestational surrogacy over adoption because surrogacy allows for at least one partner to have a biological connection to their child, and avoids the potential for outside interference in family life by birth mothers (Berkowitz, 2013). These preferences reflect an implicit acceptance of the heteronormative privileging of biological reproduction and two parent families (Vaccaro, 2010).

Thus, we see that some LG parents may be queering family through the process of queer socialization that is similar to racial socialization. In the same way that racial minority parents teach their children to be proud of their racial history, for example, LG parents teach their children to be proud of their conception stories (Berkowitz, 2013; Cohen & Kuvalanka, 2011; Gartrell, et al., 2000; Gartrell, et al., 2005), or their multi-parent family structure (Folgero, 2008; Vaccaro, 2010).

Methodological Critique of the Literature on LG Parenting

My review highlights the three main critiques of the literature on LG parents introduced earlier. These limitations stem from weaknesses in sampling, design, scope, and measurement.

First, our understanding of LG parents is limited due to sampling methods and constraints. Few nationally representative random samples have data on sexual minorities, and fewer still include information about parenting among LG individuals. Census analyses rely on the identification of a head of household's same-sex partner. Thus, they do not include single LG parents, LG parents whose children live outside their home, or LG parents who are not heads of household. A small number of studies have conducted secondary analyses using subsets of LG parent families from nationally representative samples (e.g. The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health; Wainright & Patterson, 2006; Wainwright, Russell, & Patterson, 2004). However, research using these national samples has focused on the outcomes of children with same-sex parents (e.g., rates of substance use) rather than familial or parenting processes.

Gay fathers (Tasker, 2010) and LG multi-parent families (Folgero, 2008; Vaccaro, 2010) are also underrepresented in studies of LG parents. The experiences of parents who identify as bisexual, transgender, and queer are practically nonexistent. Small sample sizes often require researchers to collapse lesbian mothers with gay fathers for analyses, although research on LG and heterosexual parents suggests that mothers and fathers should be analyzed separately. Children's perspectives are also largely missing from the same-sex parenting literature.

The experiences of working class LG parents and LG parents of color are poorly represented in the literature on same-sex parents. Of the studies that include some racial diversity (Wainright, et al. 2004; 2006), none had more than 31% non-white participants. Studies that have focused on racial minority LG individuals rarely focus on parents (Moore, 2011; Scambati, 2009), but they have shown that

the experiences of LG people of color are not always comparable to their White LG counterparts (Hunter, 2010; Moore, 2011; Parks, Hughes, & Matthews, 2004; Ramirez-Valles, 2007).

The lack of class diversity in studies of lesbian and gay parents is particularly troubling given that same-sex households have lower incomes and higher incidence of poverty than heterosexual households (Badgett, Durso, & Schneebaum, 2013) and that children from lower SES lesbian families experience more discrimination based on their mothers' sexuality than to children of middle class lesbian families (Tasker and Golombok, 1997). Thus, the results and interpretations in many studies of LG parents are not representative of these understudied populations. However, the high educational attainment in these samples may be an accurate reflection of the LG population, as some research suggests that LG adults tend to be more educated than heterosexuals (Baumle, Compton, & Poston, 2009). Class may also be confounded with parenthood among lesbians and gay men because the high cost of many family formation options (e.g. adoption, artificial insemination, and surrogacy) may be prohibitive for lower or working class LG individuals who desire to become parents within the context of a same-sex relationship. However, lower income LG individuals still pursue parenthood; for example, some lesbian couples may plan to become parents together by choosing a male with whom one partner has sex (Reed, Miller, Valenti, & Timm, 2011).

Second, the LG parent literature is also limited by study design and scope. The majority of quantitative studies used cross sectional designs, with the exception of some notable longitudinal studies of lesbian mothers only (e.g. Golombok, et al., 1983; Golombok & Badger, 2010; Golombok & Tasker, 1996; Gartrell and colleagues' National Longitudinal Lesbian Family Study). Thus, we know little about how parenting, family formation, and parent or child outcomes change over time. In studies that have used control or comparison groups, lesbian mothers are often matched with heterosexual couples who have also used artificial insemination or adoption, although the experience of infertility among heterosexual couples may affect the value they place on parenthood and their commitment to parenting (Goldberg & Kuvalanka, 2012; for an exception see Bos, et al., 2004).

Few studies have used observational methods, which would allow researchers to avoid reporting bias by comparing parents' or children's self-reports with actual behavior. This may be especially important with LG parent families, who may feel the need to "put their best foot forward" as representatives of a marginalized group (Goldberg, 2007). Moore's work (2011) demonstrates the importance of observational methods; she found that although the Black lesbians in her study reported egalitarian division of labor in their homes, their observed behavior did not support this claim.

Although information on LG *parenting* as a verb can be gleaned by dissecting articles within the literature on LG *parents* as nouns, it is difficult to decipher this information as few studies focused on process or content. This is in contrast to research on heterosexual parents that has investigated parenting

from multiple angles, including parenting style, parental involvement, school readiness, and parents' intentions, goals, and preferences for their children. Additionally, the literature on LG parents tends to assume that there are no gender differences in same-sex couples that may affect parenting; research conducted with same-sex parents has rarely inquired about the gender identity or expression of LG parents and whether or how parents' gender expression impacts their children. However, some gender nonconforming parents report a desire for different-sex children, because they feel they may not relate to same-sex children. In other words, some masculine lesbian mothers report a preference for raising sons, and some feminine gay fathers report a preference for raising daughters (Berkowitz & Ryan, 2011).

The majority of studies reviewed used qualitative methodology, although various theoretical frameworks were used (e.g. grounded theory, Goldberg & Allen, 2007; symbolic interactionism, Berkowitz, 2011b, Goldberg, 2009; feminist theories, Berkowitz, 2011a; phenomenology, Breshears, 2011). These studies focused on the lived experiences of LG parents and their children (how do gay men develop a "father" identity?), the intentions of parents (do LG parents prefer same or different sex children?), and to a lesser extent, the content of parent-child interactions (how do LG parents discuss sexuality and gender with their children? Ackbar, 2011; Cohen & Kuvalanka, 2011). Quantitative studies have focused mainly on comparisons between heterosexual and LG parents and their children on various measures of wellbeing (e.g. Allen & Burrell, 1997). In both qualitative and quantitative studies, new measures are often created, rather than adapting existing measures for use with LG parent families. However, a few studies have used validated and standardized measures such as the Marital Satisfaction Scale (Bos, et al., 2004), the Sex Role Inventory (Bos, et al., 2012; MacCallum, & Golombok, 2004), the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (Bos, et al., 2012; MacCallum & Golombok, 2004) and the Child Behavior Checklist (Bos, et al., 2008a, 2008b, 2012; Gartrell. et al., 2005).

Additionally, researchers have based their findings on reports from various sources (parents, children, teachers, etc.), which sometimes contradict one another. For example, there is some evidence that parent-child relationships among same-sex couples and their children are closer and more positive than those of heterosexual couples (Crowl, et al., 2008; Stacey & Biblarz, 2001). However, these effects are not significant when parental reports of relationship quality are replaced with child reports (Tasker, 2010).

Despite these methodological shortcomings, our understanding of LG parent families has improved in recent years. The literature on LG parent families is limited by an unexplained paradox of wellbeing and discrimination, overemphasis on parents rather than parenting processes, and racial homogeneity. In the next Chapter, I describe the current study, which seeks to extend our knowledge by filling these gaps.

Chapter 3: Methods

Research Questions

The overarching question this study seeks to address is: how do Black and mixed race LGQ parent families negotiate race, heteronormativity and queering within their families and communities? Specifically, in order to fill the gaps in the literature identified above, this embedded multiple case study (Yin, 2013) addresses the following 7 research questions:

1. What is the content of parental messages about race/ethnicity?
2. How and why do LGQ parents in Black and mixed race families socialize their children about race/ethnicity?
3. What is the content of parental messages about queer culture (and/or complex gender, sexuality, and family; Oswald et al., 2005)?
4. How and why do LGQ parents in Black and mixed race LGQ families socialize their children about queer culture (complex gender, family, and sexuality)?
5. What are the parallels and contrasts between racial and queer socialization in Black and mixed race LGQ parent families?
6. How are racial and queer socialization shaped by parents' own identity salience and the community in which the family resides?
7. How do children with LGQ parents in Black and mixed race families perceive and respond to parental socialization related to race/ethnicity and queer culture?

Rationale

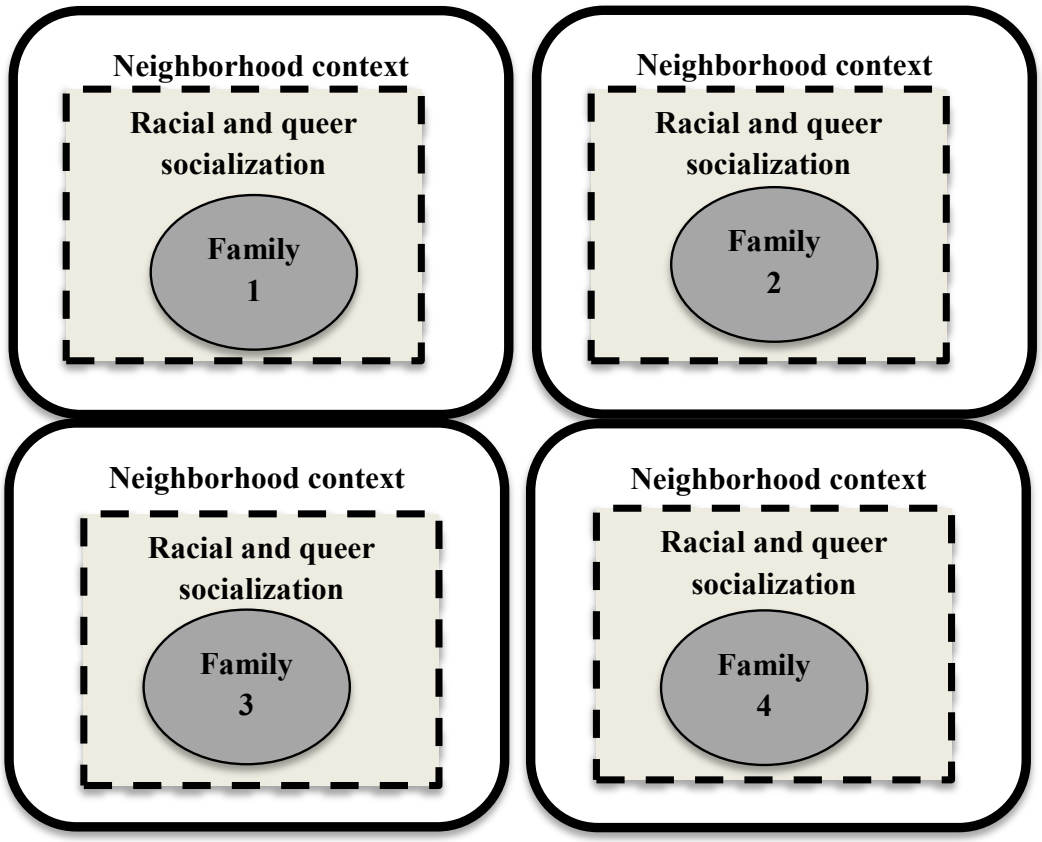
As Folgero (2008) notes, the "fundamental ambiguity" of LGQ parent families with respect to their acceptance or rejection of heteronormative assumptions is essential to our understanding of these families. Qualitative methods are well suited for the goals of this project because they allow an analysis of the messiness of this ambiguity, and a more nuanced and descriptive look at the lives of Black and mixed race LGQ parent families. Qualitative methods also allow participants to discuss the meanings they make out of their own and others' behavior, the environment, processes, and events. Specifically, open-ended questions allow the informants to discuss issues they may have experienced or anticipate experiencing due to their race, sexuality, or family structure. Case study methods are particularly well suited to the goals of this project because they allow exploration of parental socialization in context, and through a variety of data sources. The goal of this study is not to produce statistically generalizable results, but rather to expand theory and provide a detailed description of the lives of an understudied population.

Case study methodology is recommended (over experiments, archival analysis, etc.) when researchers pose "how" and "why" research questions about contemporary events that cannot be manipulated (Yin, 2013, p. 8-13), and seek to investigate a phenomena that is not clearly delineated from

its context (Yin, 2013, p. 18). Case studies may involve one or more cases (single versus multiple case study design) and one or more units of analysis within each case (holistic versus embedded case study design; Yin, 2013). For example, one might conduct a case study of decision making in families. The case in a single case study design might be reproductive decision making, and focus on the decision to have children at the level of the parental dyad (holistic) or each parent individually (embedded). A multiple case study design would involve more than just the case of reproductive decision making (additional cases might be the decision to marry, to relocate, or how to divide household tasks), but could still be either holistic or embedded.

The current study is an embedded multiple case study (Yin, 2013), which describes and compares the processes of racial socialization and queer socialization in four Black and mixed race LGQ parent families (see Figure 1).

Figure 1 (adapted from Yin, 2013, p. 46). *Embedded Multiple Case Study Design*.



In this study, the cases are the social processes of racial socialization and queer socialization, which are analyzed within the context of each family's residential neighborhood. The dotted lines in Figure 1 indicate that the boundary between socialization processes and neighborhood context is not well defined. The embedded units of analysis are the participating families, thus allowing comparisons of the cases within (i.e., how are the processes of racial socialization and queer socialization similar and different

within each family?) and across families (i.e., how are racial and queer socialization similar and different across families?).

Propositions

Propositions are a key element of case study research design, and are used to help place limits on the scope of a project and to increase the feasibility of project completion (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2013). Propositions are similar to hypotheses in experimental studies and may be based on the personal or professional experiences of researchers, the existing theoretical literature, and/or empirical evidence. This study is guided by 5 propositions that are related to the research questions above, and based on the existing literature (see Chapter 2) and my experience in LGBTQ community. First, I proposed that the content of racial and queer socialization messages would be related to culture, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and/or egalitarianism (Hughes, et al., 2006). Second, I proposed that LGQ parents in Black and mixed race families would socialize their children about race and queer culture directly, indirectly, and through the management of children's time and environment (Parke, et al., 1994). Third, I proposed that queer socialization resembles racial socialization. Fourth, I proposed that racial and queer socialization are used because they buffer the negative effects of discrimination and heterosexism for parents and children. Finally, I proposed that LGQ parents in Black and mixed race families would engage in racial and queer socialization when there are high levels of: parental racial or sexual orientation identity salience, participation in and attachment to the Black and/or LGBTQ community, and perceived or actual victimization. These propositions demonstrate the use of theory throughout the study design, and also provided a theoretical orientation to the analysis (Yin, 2013, p. 130-131).

Informants

My informants for this study are members of four families living in the state of Illinois. The inclusion criteria were families composed of non-heterosexual single or coupled parents with children between the ages of 14-18, in which at least one parent and/or the target child was non-White. Efforts were made to interview all of each target child's parents, but at least 1 parent of each target child agreed to participate for their family to be included in this study. A more detailed description of each family is found in Chapter 4.

Child interviews are an important contribution of this study because the perspective of children is largely missing from the literature on LG parenting; most studies use only parental reports of children's behavior. I focused on adolescent children in this study because identity development is a crucial developmental task during this time (including racial, gender, and sexual identities; Phinney, Horenezyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), and because it is more likely that children in this age range (compared to younger children) have experienced racial and queer socialization in their families at some point in their

lives (Hughes, et al., 2006). Furthermore, adolescents are better able to verbally report and reflect on their own experiences than younger children.

Sampling Strategy

I recruited parents using purposive theoretical sampling strategies that took advantage of my own and my informant's personal networks, as well as online advertising and emails to listservs, social media of LGBTQ organizations and groups, parenting groups, and word of mouth. Efforts were made to ensure variability in the structure of each family (single parent, two coupled parents, two separated parents, etc.), socioeconomic status, and the racial identification (African American, White) and composition of each family (mono racial or mixed race). Analyzing data from families with varied sociodemographic characteristics enhanced the rigor of this study by allowing me to examine rival hypotheses in my analysis (Yin, 2013).

Procedures

Parents who volunteered to participate in the study were screened for eligibility over the telephone or by email. Parents signed written consent forms, and children provided verbal and written assent. Data were collected primarily through a series of semi-structured, in depth interviews with parents and their children, separately. Data were collected using questionnaires, participant observation of each family during mealtime, and neighborhood observations. Additionally, interviewer memos were recorded after each interview or observation with each participant. Having multiple data sources is important because it enhances trustworthiness of the findings through triangulation and the development of converging lines of inquiry (Yin, 2013, p. 115). In this study, data from multiple interviews and questionnaires with at least two sources, and observation (direct and participant) ensures that parental socialization is not viewed through one lens alone, but rather through an analysis of multiple facets of a complex phenomenon. I describe each method of data collection in more detail below.

Questionnaires. Before the first and second interviews, parents and children completed paper and pencil questionnaires to collect demographic and other quantitative data that corresponded to the topics covered in the upcoming interview. The first questionnaire contained demographic questions (e.g., age, sex, income) and questions about neighborhood characteristics (e.g., perceived density of other LGQ parent families). These questions correspond to the open ended questions about demographics and neighborhood characteristics covered in the first interview. The second questionnaire contained measures of racial and queer socialization, which are the focus of the open ended questions in the second interview, as well as short measures of depression and life satisfaction. Appendix A contains the questionnaire measures for parents and children. Questionnaire 1 had two versions, one for parents and one for children, and questionnaire 2 was the same for both parents and children.

Interviews. Each participating family member was interviewed 2-4 times, with no fewer than two weeks between interviews. The number of interviews depended on the amount of time needed to cover all questions in the protocol with each participant. For some participants, two interviews was enough; for others, additional interviews were required. Interviews lasted between 1-3 hours each. Appendix B contains the semi-structured interview protocol. Each topic is addressed in both parent and child interviews, although the wording of questions was sometimes adjusted to account for the different cognitive capacities of informants. Questions for interviews 1 and 2 were founded on concepts from the literature on racial socialization, queering, and parenting.

Observation. In addition to the direct observations I made during each qualitative interview with informants, I toured each family's home, observed each family at least once as a unit during mealtime, and did drive-through observations of each family's residential neighborhood. For in home observations, the target child and parent(s) were always present, but other family members were often present as well. For Family A, two independent mealtime observations took place because the child's mothers are divorced, making a total of 5 mealtime observations in this study. Mealtime observations took place after all interviews were completed with the parent(s) and the target child and I provided the food. At the end of the final interview, informants were asked what kinds of food they liked to eat and the mealtime observations were scheduled. During the meal, I paid close attention to interpersonal dynamics and any conversations related to race, sexuality, and/or gender. After we ate, I asked informants to give me a tour of their home, during which I asked questions about household routines (e.g., chores, food preparation), extended family and friends, and observed any cultural artifacts (e.g., artwork, photographs, flags). For some families, parent(s) and their children gave me separate tours of their home, in others parents and children gave me one home tour together.

Measures

This study assessed demographics as well as 9 main topics: co-parenting and support, neighborhood characteristics, community involvement and attachment, racial socialization, queer socialization, experiences with prejudice, queering, life satisfaction, and depression. With the exception of life satisfaction and depression, which were measured quantitatively by questionnaire only, each concept in this study was examined through a combination of questionnaire, interview, and/or observation. Below I describe how each concept of interest was assessed, including example questions from questionnaires (Appendix A) and the interview protocol (Appendix B).

Demographics. Informants provided their age, zip code, country of birth, employment status, annual household income, race, ethnicity, racial identity salience, natal sex, gender identity, gender identity salience, gender presentation, sexual orientation, sexual orientation salience, and religious background on questionnaire 1. Informants were then be asked open ended questions about their identities

in their initial interview(s) (e.g., "In what ways do you see yourself as reflecting and/or challenging stereotypically masculine and/or stereotypically feminine qualities?"). For example, after choosing from the census categories for race/ethnicity on questionnaire 1, informants were asked "How did those options do at describing your race and ethnicity? Is there any other way you describe yourself?" Informants were also probed to explain the reasoning behind their choices on questionnaire 1 ("What made you choose that answer?"). Additionally, I discussed my perception of informants' physical characteristics (skin color, gender presentation, hairstyle, demeanor, accessories, etc.) in interviewer memos.

Co-parenting and support. Parents and teens were asked who they turn to for support across various domains (e.g., parenting, sexual orientation, emotional problems). Both parents and children were asked to use stickers to create diagrams of their families. Informants were instructed to include all individuals that they consider important in supporting the focal child and probed to give more information about why these individuals are important to them and their family. Additionally, informants were probed to discuss how and why these individuals are supportive of them as LGQ people and as African Americans/parents of an African American child, as well as how this arrangement has changed over time.

Neighborhood characteristics. On questionnaire 1, informants reported on the climate for LGBTQ individuals and people of color separately in their workplace or school, their residential neighborhood, and their place of worship, as well as their perceptions of various features of their residential neighborhood: climate for LGBTQ individuals, climate for people of color, and the population density of racially similar others and LGQ individuals. Additionally, informants rated their level of agreement with various items from the Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies Scale (MIRIPS; Berry, 2010), such as "A majority of the people in my neighborhood are from my ethnic group," and the Social Justice Sexuality Project (SJSP; Battle, Pastrana, & Daniels, 2010) such as "Homophobia is a problem in my neighborhood." In the initial interview(s), informants were asked open-ended questions about similar topics (e.g., "What's it like to be a person of color where you live?"). They were also probed to explain the reasoning behind their choices on questionnaire 1 and to provide examples or experiences that may have influenced their decisions.

Community involvement and attachment. Quantitative questionnaire items were adapted from the SJSP questionnaire (Battle, et al., 2010) and the MIRIPS questionnaire and aimed at identifying informants' involvement in and attachment to their local LGBTQ community and the African American community. In questionnaire 1, informants rated their level of agreement with various items from the SJSP (e.g., "I feel connected to my local LGBT community") and MIRIPS (e.g., "I prefer social activities which involve LGBT members only") on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Queer community attachment had three items, and racial community attachment had three items. To calculate community attachment, the items in each attachment subscale were averaged. In initial interview(s),

informants also discussed the reasons behind their choices to the quantitative items, such as why they do or do not feel connected to the LGBTQ community, the Black community, and the Black LGBTQ community, as well as why and how often they participate in events related to each of these communities.

Racial socialization. Questionnaire 2 (Appendix A) and interview protocol 2 (Appendix B) addressed the four content areas of racial socialization described in the literature (Hughes, et al., 2006): preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism and silence about race, and cultural socialization. In questionnaire 2, various items were selected from Stevenson's (1994) scale of racial socialization for adolescents and Hughes and Chen's (1997) racial socialization measure that are representative of each socialization strategy (e.g., "Parents should explain to children that people might treat them badly or try to limit them because of their race"). Participants rated their level of agreement with each statement on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), and scores for each content area were averaged for the sample as a whole to provide a general and descriptive sense of the level of endorsement for each content area. In interviews, informants were first asked broad, open-ended questions such as "What kinds of beliefs, values, or rules have you been taught regarding your race/ethnicity?" If any of the above strategies are spontaneously mentioned, they were probed to provide more information and give specific examples of how the strategy had been used in their family. They were then probed to discuss whether and how they used each strategy. For example, if an informant did not mention egalitarianism on their own, they were asked: "Some parents think that children should be taught that all races/ethnicities are equal. What do you think? Can you give me specific examples of how this happens in your family?"

Queer socialization. No measure of queer socialization exists to my knowledge. However, because I believe queer socialization to be closely related to racial socialization, I adapted various items designed to address racial socialization to be used as the basis for questionnaire and interview questions about queer socialization. For example, an item on questionnaire 2 relating to queer preparation for bias is: "Parents should explain to children that people may try to limit them because of their parents' sexual orientation." Participants rated their level of agreement with each statement about queer socialization on questionnaire 2 on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Scores for each content area were averaged for the sample as a whole to provide a general and descriptive sense of the level of endorsement for each content area. Similar to the format of the racial socialization questioning described above, during interviews I began with open ended questions, such as: "How have you talked to your children about your sexual orientation?" and then moved on to more focused questions to address any of the four strategies that were not spontaneously brought up by the informant. For example, if an informant did not mention queer preparation for bias, they were asked "How have you taught (child) to cope with

discrimination related to having LGQ parent(s)/ How have your parent(s) taught you to deal with discrimination related to having LGQ parent(s)?"

Queering. To address the three binaries in Oswald and colleagues' (2005) queering model, informants were asked to report on the ways that they have discussed gender, sexuality, and family within their families during interviews. For example, teens were asked: "How have you talked to your parents about gender identity/roles? That is, the behaviors and roles attached to one's sense of being a man or woman?" (Item from Ackbar, 2011). Informants were asked to describe the ways they believe their family to be similar to and/or different from other families ("Some people have argued that LGQ parent families are the same as all other families. Others say they're very different. What do you think?").

Experiences with prejudice. Informants were asked whether they have experienced prejudice related to their family structure or their own or their parents' gender or sexuality during interviews. If so, they were asked to describe in detail a specific instance in which they experienced prejudice ("How old was your child/were you? How did you talk to your child/parent about that experience? Do you remember exactly what you said to them? What they said to you?"). Experiences with prejudice in schools was directly addressed because children at this age still spend the majority of their time in school settings (e.g., "Have you ever seen a LGBTQ student treated badly at school?"). Although none of my informants reported current religious attendance, past discriminatory treatment within religious institutions was commonly discussed.

Life satisfaction. Global life satisfaction was measured on questionnaire 2 with the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The SWLS has 5 items, which are each rated on a seven-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). An example item is "In many ways my life is close to my ideal." The SWLS was used in this study because it is brief, has demonstrated good psychometric properties, and is suitable for use with adults and teenagers (Gilman & Huebner, 2000). The SWLS has a range of 5-35, with scores of 30-35 indicating very high life satisfaction, 25-29 high life satisfaction, 20-24 average life satisfaction, 15-19 below average life satisfaction, 10-14 dissatisfaction with life, and 5-9 extreme dissatisfaction with life (Diener, 2006). Each participant's SWLS scores were summed.

Depression. Depression is measured on questionnaire 2 using the 20-item Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977). Informants were asked how often in the past week they had experienced each item, rated on a scale from 0 (rarely or none of the time; less than one day) to 3 (all of the time; 5-7 days). An example item is: "I felt that people disliked me." Scores on each item were summed after reverse coding four items (e.g., "I felt hopeful about the future"). CES-D scores range from 0-60; scores between 11-15 are considered clinically significant, and scores of 16 or higher are considered clinically depressed. The CES-D was chosen for this study because it is designed to

study depressive symptomology within the general population rather than clinical samples, and because it is reliable and valid for use with adults (Clark, Mahoney, Clark, & Erikson, 2002; Hann, Winter, & Jacobsen, 1999) and adolescents (Radloff, 1991).

Analysis

Interviews and interviewer memos were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim by myself, two undergraduate research assistants, or a transcription service. I and two undergraduate research assistants deidentified the transcripts and all other data sources (written notes during interviews, original copies of the questionnaires, etc.) by replacing all names of people and places with pseudonyms. Deidentified data were double checked for accuracy by the interviewer. MAXQDA software was used to organize and analyze data. Deidentified transcripts of interviews, field notes, and memos, as well as scanned PDFs of completed questionnaires and parenting maps were uploaded to MAXQDA. For participants who were interviewed more than once per interview protocol, transcripts were combined so that each participant had 2 transcripts in MAXQDA, one for protocol 1, and one for protocol 2.

My overall analytic strategy (Yin, 2013) was founded upon the research questions and theoretical propositions discussed above. Using one's propositions as theoretical orientation is the preferred strategy for case study analysis (Yin, 2013, p. 130). Construct validity was ensured by using multiple sources of evidence (direct observation, interviews, questionnaires, and participant observation), which allowed me to triangulate data (Yin, 2013). Reliability in case study research is ensured by maintaining a chain of evidence (Yin, 2013, p. 122). I kept a record of all procedures and events in this study, including recruitment, interactions with informants, and steps in the analysis and final report. The use of pattern matching increases the internal validity of case study research (Yin, 2013). In this study, patterns of racial socialization were compared to patterns of queer socialization. External validity in case study research refers to the extent to which the study's findings can be generalized to theories (not populations or universes). Thus, external validity was ensured in this study through the clear application of theory to the study design, measures, and analysis.

As is often the case with qualitative analyses, various strategies and techniques were used in this study. The analytical process was not linear, but rather involved "playing" with the data (Yin, 2013, p. 129) by reading and re-reading transcripts and other textual data, coding, creating data displays, typologies, and profiles. For clarity, I present the analysis in order of research question here.

Analysis began by focusing on the processes of racial socialization and queer socialization, including the content of parents' messages to children (research questions 1-4). After interviews were transcribed, deidentified, and uploaded into MAXQDA for analysis, I began by reading through all transcripts and chunk coding any segment related to racial socialization. Within those chunked segments, I then coded using a priori codes based on terminology from the racial socialization literature (research

questions 1 and 3). I used the definitions established in the literature to code each of the four racial socialization content areas (e.g., preparation for bias, mainstream socialization) and an additional "other racial socialization" code for anything that did not fit into the pre-defined categories. This portion of the analysis was based on proposition 1, which dealt with the content of racial socialization. Next I read through the transcripts again to code parents' reasoning behind the racial socialization reported, the form of each example (direct, indirect, or time management; research questions 2 and 4), experiences with racial discrimination (research question 6), and children's responses to the strategies (research question 7) where applicable. This portion of the analysis was based on propositions 2 and 3, which deal with the "how" and "why" of socialization. I then used the same steps to code for queer socialization on the entire set of interview transcripts: initial chunk coding, followed by a priori coding within the chunks for each content area and "other queer socialization," the form of each example, LGBTQ related discrimination, and children's responses.

To establish intercoder reliability, I used a random number generator to select a subsample of 8 interview transcripts (40% of the sample) and to assign four transcripts to each undergraduate research assistant to be independently coded. Each student followed the same coding process described above using the same codebook (chunk coding, then a priori coding within those chunks). Each student coded two transcripts for racial socialization and two transcripts for queer socialization. For each transcript, MAXQDA calculated intercoder reliability based on how often a segment was coded the same by both myself and the undergraduate assisstant. During one on one meetings, each undergraduate student and I discussed any discordant segments until each transcript had at least 95% intercoder agreement.

At the start, I focused on the four established content areas of socialization described in the literature. I used MAXMaps, a visual analysis tool within MAXQDA, to organize all segments coded as a rationale for racial socialization into groups with their corresponding content area. In other words, I grouped all reasons given for preparation for bias together, all reasons for promotion of mistrust together, all reasons for mainstream socialization together, and all the reasons for cultural socialization together. For simplicity and ease of use, I paraphrased any direct quote that was more than a few lines of text. Thus, each rationale was either a direct quote from an informant's transcript, or a paraphrased summary of a direct quote. I then color coded reasons that were related to each other to sort them into broader categories (see Figure 2), and eventually arrived at the 4 reasons reported for each socialization processes (see Chapter 5). For example, "I'm uncomfortable talking about race" and "I believe it is important to acknowledge my ancestry" were collapsed into the "parental characteristics" rationale. I used the same method for analyzing queer socialization rationales: initial grouping by content area then color coding into broader themes (see Figure 3).

Figure 2. Racial Socialization MAXMap, showing the development of racial socialization rationales.

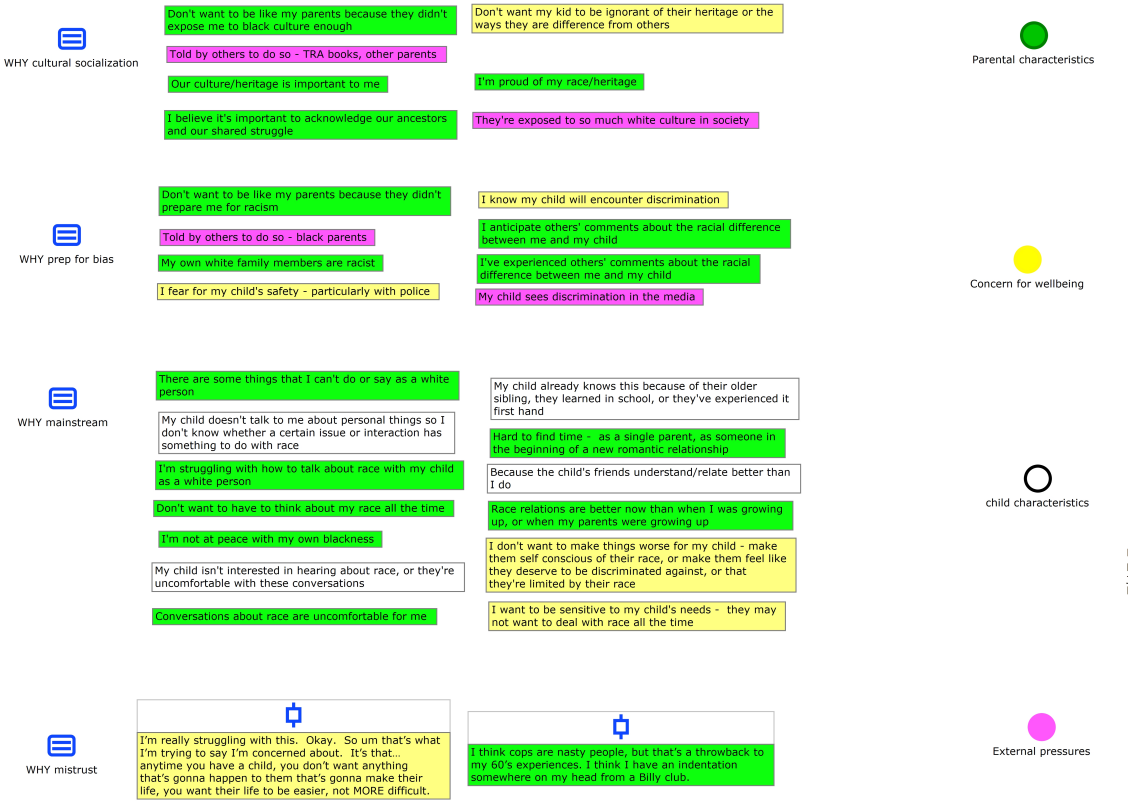


Figure 3. Queer socialization MAXMap, showing the development of queer socialization rationales.

Later in the analysis process, I returned to the segments coded as "Other" for racial and queer socialization. On second inspection, some of these segments recoded into the four content areas established in the literature. The remaining segments were related to socialization in the same four content areas, but were described as originating from non-parent source. To discover the relationship between the content, form, and rationale of each socialization process, I organized the three forms, four content areas, and four rationales into tables that contained direct quotes in each cell. These analytical tables were later condensed into results summary tables (see Chapter 5).

I then compared racial and queer socialization, focusing on similarities and differences in the ways that each process was described and enacted by parents and children (pattern matching; research question 5). This portion of the analysis was based on proposition three which stated that the two socialization processes would resemble one another. Earlier analyses revealed many similarities between racial and queer socialization (e.g., content, rationale, form). My analysis of the differences between the two socialization processes began by classifying each family in the study on their level of engagement in each process from least to most socialization relative to other families. This analysis is presented in graphic form in Chapter 5. I further interrogated proposition three by reading and exploring the content of the racial and queer socialization processes analyzed previously, my memos during data collection and analysis, and observation notes.

Next I analyzed the ways that racial and queer socialization are affected by parents' identities and the residential neighborhood context (research question 6). I focused on the four variables suggested in proposition 5: parents' identity salience, community participation, attachment to community, and victimization. I created a visual display to organize data for each variable, and then compared the data display to the socialization rankings generated in research question 5. For identity salience, I created a table of identity rankings for each individual, including the numerical scores reported on questionnaires and descriptive quotes from interviews. For participation and attachment to community, I combined quantitative reports on questionnaires and data from interview transcripts. For victimization, I created a table of discrimination experiences, organized by informant, using segments coded as "discrimination" in the interview transcripts.

Finally, I analyzed the ways that children responded to parental socialization (research question 7). Throughout the analytical process as I was reading and re-reading the data, I coded children's responses to socialization. From these coded segments as well as children's questionnaire responses, I created a table of responses, separated by informant. The data in the original table were then combined and organized into the categories presented in Chapter 5.

The quantitative data from questionnaires 1 and 2 were entered into excel spreadsheets by undergraduate research assistants. Spreadsheets were used to calculate the average endorsement for each

socialization content area, and to sum the depression and life satisfaction scores. Observation data came from tours of informants' homes and participant observation during family mealtime. Particular attention was paid to conversations, interactions, or activities that had to do with race, gender, or sexual orientation, although these were infrequent. However, observation data allowed me to see the ways that these individuals created and performed family in their everyday lives and the ways that race, gender, and/or sexual orientation were or were not salient to them.

Researcher Positionality

Kim England (1994) wrote that "fieldwork is intensely personal, in that the positionality and biography of the researcher plays a central role in the research process, in the field as well as in the final text" (p.87). Reflexivity is "self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher" (England, 1994, p. 82). To this end, I share some of my identities in this section as part of the reflexive practice of feminist research.

I am a queer, cisgender female with a European-American mother and a dark-skinned Puerto Rican father. I grew up poor, but the majority of my family is now middle to upper middle class. My light skin often masks my Latina heritage in the eyes of others; many assume I am adopted when they meet by blonde, blue eyed, light skinned mother. My partner is a cisgender male whose presence often leads others to perceive me as heterosexual. However, my gender presentation is feminine in an "edgy" way (Moore, 2011) that leads many to perceive me as lesbian or queer when I am alone or in queer spaces. Although I have not birthed, adopted, or fostered any children formally, I have helped parent many children in my life, including my four younger siblings, cousins, nieces, and nephews.

As a queer Latina child from a mixed race family, I have some things in common with my informants. To avoid blurring my own experiences with those of my informants, I attempted to set aside my preconceived notions about these families during my interactions with them. Instead, I discussed my feelings and opinions about my informants and my interactions with them in memos, field notes, or conversations with my advisor and research assistants. Before beginning data collection, I reflected on the ways that I would answer the questions I posed in this study, and the ways that I would evaluate my own home during a home visit. As a 27 year old graduate student, I may be too old to relate to the lives of the teenagers in this study and too young to fully understand the lives of their parents. Although I have helped raise some children, and am sympathetic to the experiences of parents, I am not a parent. As England (1994) writes, "all the sympathy in the world is not going to enable me to truly understand what it is like" (p. 86) to be a parent. Thus, I endeavored to treat my informants "like people and not as mere mines of information to be exploited by the researcher as the neutral collector of 'facts'" (England, 1994, p. 82). Although no amount of effort on my part could have removed the inevitability of an asymmetrical relationship between myself and my informants, I took steps to counterbalance this reality. For example,

by reimbursing informants for their time and allowing them to describe their experiences in their own words.

Ethical Concerns and Confidentiality.

Data collection did not begin until all research procedures and interview protocols were approved by the University of Illinois' Institutional Review Board (IRB). Multiple strategies were used in order to maintain confidentiality throughout the research process. Specifically, pseudonyms were used in transcripts and in this document for all identifying information, including informants' names, the names of others identified in informants' narratives, and neighborhoods. Further, all materials with identifying information (e.g., signed consent forms, audio files) were kept strictly confidential through the use of password protected files and locked filing cabinets. Original parenting maps that contained names were recreated using pseudonyms. All remaining data with identifying material will be destroyed after I complete my final defense.

Chapter 4: Meet the Families

In this chapter, I provide a brief introduction to the members of each family that participated in the current study. Families were assigned their letters in the order they were recruited (Family A was first, then Family B, etc.). I began my recruitment in College Town, a non-metropolitan area, and later expanded recruitment to Metropolis, a large city about two hours away. I conclude this Chapter with a summary of participant demographics for the entire sample.

Family A - The Radleys (College Town)

Allison and Janet are cisgender White women who met in college and were together for about 5 years when they decided to have children (Allison said 6, Janet said 5). After years of research, decision-making, and failed attempts at alternative insemination, they decided to adopt. Allison explained:

> [O]ur biggest thing was not race so much as… would we be treated as a couple and will we be treated respectfully as lesbians, because a lot of places wouldn't place with you at all or if they would, they would make you hide your relationship.

Once they found an agency that met their needs, however, they became aware of the "racial politics of adoption" and eventually felt compelled to adopt transracially. Janet explained it this way:

> We went into adoption really open about who we might adopt, and when we heard the statistics that were talking about how many African American kids are in the adoption system, it became a no brainer to us that we would um… we actually limited ourselves. We said we'd only wanted to be shown to parents who were going to have either African American children or biracial African American children.

A year later Aden was placed with them at only 24 hours old.

Allison and Janet separated when Aden was four years old. Because they were legally married in Canada, they were not able to divorce until years later when their state began recognizing same-sex marriages. With the help of a mediator and counselor, they negotiated a shared custody agreement. Aden spends every other week living in Janet's home wife her current wife, Sandra, and the other weeks living in Allison's home, switching on Sunday evenings. Whichever parent does not have Aden living in their home that week still sees him for at least two dinners a week. Aden also has dinner every Thursday with Pat, a White cisgender male, and longtime friend of Janet and Allison's who they consider family and affectionately refer to as "the penis hotline."

Allison Radley is currently 48 years old, and we met for the first time at her home in College Town. She is short and heavyset, with extremely short, mostly grey hair, and wears no jewelry or makeup. On the gender presentation scale, she rated herself a 6 on a scale from 1 (very feminine) to 10 (very masculine). I agree with Allison's rating, although Aden rated Allison as a 5 on the same scale. Her

partner, Maureen, is an African American woman who spends time with Allison and Aden at Allison's home, but does not live there full time.

Janet Haines Radley is currently 47 years old, and she met her wife, Sandra, a 69-year-old White cisgender woman, through her work. Janet and Sandra own a home together within a mile of Allison's home and Aden's school. Janet is average height, heavyset, with shoulder length brown hair that is streaked with grey. Janet and Aden both rated Janet's gender presentation as a 5, although Sandra rated Janet as a two because she sometimes wears makeup, dresses and skirts, and enjoys cooking. Sandra is an obese woman of average height, with extremely short grey hair. She wears no makeup or jewelry. She rated her gender presentation as a 9, although Janet rated her an 8.

Aden James Haines Radley is 14-year-old African American, cisgender, heterosexual male in his first year of high school. Allison explained Aden's names:

> Part of his adoption story is how he got his names. We had… settled on calling him Aden Haines Radley. Haines being Janet's… maiden name before she took Radley. And you know, we're like okay, we're set, you know, he's got all the names he could possibly use (chuckles) … and the social worker for Desirae [Aden's birth mother] told us, "Hey she's been calling him Little Jimmy. Do you think you can work that in?" And we're like "We can totally fit James in there." So like on the spur of the moment, we're like Aden James Haines Radley, there you go... and so his name has a part of all of us.

Aden is tall, overweight, with light brown skin. He wears his shoulder length hair in dreadlocks, and was dressed casually in sweatpants and a t-shirt every time I met him. His gender presentation was rated at 8.75 on average (Sandra rated Aden a 10, Aden rated himself 10, Janet rated Aden 7, Allison rated him 8).

Family B - The Maxwells (College Town)

Kurt Maxwell is a 51-year-old African American, cisgender male. Kurt and his ex-wife, Alice, met in the early 1990s when Kurt was still an elder and minister of the Jehovah's Witnesses. They married in 1995, and Alice gave birth to their only child, Nolan, in 1998. By the year 2000, Kurt began to question the Jehovah's Witness ideology, and he was eventually excommunicated from the Jehovah's Witnesses in 2012. Alice divorced him two years later in 2014, and continues to be a devout Jehovah's Witness. Since their divorce, Kurt has shared custody of Nolan. Kurt's 72-year-old mother lives in a local retirement village, and legally owns the condo he lives in, although Kurt pays the mortgage. Kurt explained how his excommunication has caused problems for their relationship:

> My mother…can't be seen with me out in public. Even though everybody knows, I have to… I take care of her bills. I check on her. You know, I go by to see her. She does not want to cause any kind of friction with her church, so she won't… like our favorite superhero is Superman. She

wanted to see Superman and I naturally I'm the place, person to go because we share that same passion... but we can't be seen publicly together.

I spent many evenings with Kurt in his College Town condo, and he was always wearing sweatpants and a t-shirt. Kurt is tall, with brown skin and hair shaved close to his head. He works for a local college and gestures energetically with his hands when he speaks. Kurt rated his gender presentation an 8 on a scale from 1 (very feminine) to 10 (very masculine) because "[w]hen I'm in my normal day-to-day most people, I don't think would know I'm gay." Nolan and I agree with this assessment. After coming out as gay in early 2015, Kurt began experimenting with dating and quickly met his current boyfriend, Dan, a 69-year-old White man, who Kurt described as "more effeminate" (a 6 on the gender presentation scale). Dan also came out as gay late in life, at age 59, and has adult children. Kurt and Dan have been dating for about 18 months, and Dan often sleeps over at Kurt's condo when Nolan is there.

When I met Nolan Maxwell, he was an 18-year-old high school senior who identified as an African American, heterosexual, cisgender male. He is tall and heavyset, with brown skin and a short, neatly buzzed haircut. His clothing is generally loose fitting (jeans, sweatpants, t-shirts, hoodies). Nolan spoke softly and stopped and started sentences frequently. He was thoughtful and cautious when speaking; frequently asking "What's a good way to say this?" before answering a question. Nolan rated his own gender presentation an 8, although Kurt rated him a 10 because "He just carries himself like a dude." Since the start of this project, Nolan graduated high school and began studying at a community college. After graduation he was allowed to choose with which parent he'd like to live, and he decided to leave the Jehovah's Witnesses and move in full time with Kurt.

Family C - The Marshalls (Metropolis)

Tanesha Marshall is a 42-year-old Black, cisgender woman who works as a family advocate in Metropolis, where she was born and raised. She is the mother of four children: Dominique (age 23), Ammar (age 20), Siyanda (age 16), and Sharif (age 6). Siyanda is the focal child for this study, although I also met Dominique and Sharif during the course of the study. Tanesha described her relationship with her ex-husband, Aaron:

> He and I were best friends in high school. And then… he went away to college and he had a son [Aaron, Jr.] and I had a daughter [Dominique], and then we came back. Um… we started having a sexual relationship, but it wasn't like, really like a love relationship... And then... I got pregnant with my second child [Ammar]. And so, we just decided to get married, and then I had Siya. I call her Siya. And so, yeah, so that was it. And then, like, once she was about two, that's when we got divorced.

After the divorce, Tanesha was in a long-term open relationship with another man, with whom she had her youngest son, Sharif. After they separated, she came out as lesbian to her friends, her children, and

some members of her family: “I wanted them to know like this is me, this is who I am, even before I was, like, tied to a partner, anything like that.” Tanesha and her exes have let their children decide where they would prefer to live. Dominique and Sharif live full time with Tanesha, and Ammar lives with Aaron, Sr. during breaks from college. Siyanda splits her time between her parents’ homes.

I met Tanesha for the first time in a coffee shop near one of her client’s homes in a poor, predominantly Black area of Metropolis on a hot August afternoon. She wore a long, olive green cotton dress, large earrings with African designs, and her short, natural hair pulled into a bun. She has caramel colored skin, with African symbols tattooed on her forearms and wore black, square rimmed glasses. Tanesha described her own gender presentation as a three on a scale from 1 (very feminine) to 10 (very masculine) because she likes to wear dresses and heels occasionally, but is not into makeup or fake nails. Both Siyanda and I agree with this assessment. During the course of data collection, Tanesha proposed to her partner of nearly two years, Tori, who is a few years younger than Tanesha. Tori is also Black, works as a police officer in Metropolis, and lives approximately three minutes from Tanesha’s home with her dog. Siyanda explained why Tanesha and Tori live separately:

> [M]y mom was supposed to move in with her. We was supposed to move in with her. But… she has a dog and I'm allergic to the dog, and you can't get rid of the dog. Like, the dog is so nice, but I'm really allergic. So, I guess they're waiting for me to go to college, which is not that far away.

Tanesha rated Tori’s gender presentation as a 7 because she wears “unisex” or men’s clothing only, and keeps her hair buzzed very close to her head. Siyanda argued that Tori is a 5 because she sometimes behaves in feminine ways, despite dressing “manly.”

Siyanda is a 16-year-old high school junior who identifies as a bisexual, Black, cisgender female. She is average height and slender, with caramel skin, and wore her long red hair in braids. When I met her for the first time in a coffee shop near her father’s home, she wore a long sleeve crop top shirt, jeans, sneakers, and glasses. Both she and her mother described her gender presentation as a 5. Tanesha said: “she’d flip from one day to the next, like, she can wear some… boy type sweats, and then the next day she got the belly shirt with the hair straight. So, she just… kind of does her own thing.” Siyanda agrees: “the way I dress sometimes can be boyish, so I'm not really that girly all the time.” Tanesha explained the difference between Siyanda’s edgy femininity (Moore, 2011), and Tori’s androgynous/masculine presentation: “It's like Tori is mistaken for a guy, and Siyanda would never probably be mistaken for a guy.” Siyanda attends an arts-focused high school and hopes to be a professional performer someday.

Family D - The Browns (Metropolis)

Violet Brown is a 55-year-old White, cisgender woman who has been a professor at a public university in Metropolis for the past 25 years. Violet is a short, heavyset woman with very short brown hair. Although she does not wear “men’s” clothing, her style of dress is not overly feminine in a

traditional sense. She does not wear makeup or jewelry and rarely wears skirts or dresses. She rated her gender presentation as a three on a scale from 1 (very feminine) to 10 (very masculine), because

> I'm not heavy on the make‑up, the nails, the heels, all that kind. That would be a one or two for me. But I do think that in comparison to other lesbians that I...I mean, there's all kinds of lesbians, but the ones I'm closer to, I feel like my presentation's a little more female than many of them.

I agree with her son, Kennedy, who rated her gender presentation slightly more masculine at a four. We met for the first time in her campus office.

In 1995 at age 34, Violet was diagnosed with breast cancer, for which she underwent a lumpectomy, radiation, and chemotherapy. The cancer returned three years ago, and she underwent a full mastectomy and reconstructive surgery. About a year after she finished her first round of cancer treatments, Violet began to investigate her options for parenthood, and eventually decided to adopt. By the summer of 1997, Violet had adopted her oldest son, Aaron. Aaron is an African American cisgender male, who is now 19 years old and lives in an apartment not far from Violet's home and office.

Violet's youngest son, Kennedy, is the focal child for this study. He was born 6 weeks premature and assigned female at birth in early 2000. He was placed with Violet a couple weeks after birth, although he remained in the hospital for another week, and eventually required intensive physical and speech therapy. When I met Kennedy for the first time, he was a 16 year old high school junior, and had been using his chosen name (Kennedy) and pronouns (he/him) for less than six months. Kennedy identifies as a queer Black male, has dark brown skin, and favors athletic clothing (basketball shorts, t-shirts, etc.). He fluctuates between the label transgender and genderqueer: "trans works sometimes but it's also boxing in people and separating them more. So, I, in school… I just said I was genderqueer if people would ask or I don't identify as either. It depends really." Kennedy rated his gender presentation an 8, although Violet rated Kennedy's gender presentation 7:

> Kennedy has NOT yet began [sic] testosterone, although we are beginning it in a couple of weeks. So, that is coming very soon, but now has… is more rarely identified as male and more commonly identified as, perceived by others as female, because Kennedy has more of a woman's shape, which he tries to hide. That's the seven.

When I met Violet, she was separated from her husband, Emmitt. Emmitt is a transgender man 26 years younger than Violet, and the two first met at Violet's work when Kennedy was 9 years old:

> Actually, when I first met the trans man that I eventually married, I had heard before I met him, through a mutual friend, that he was trans. And I actually pursued a friendship with him thinking, 'This is my opportunity to understand this so that I can better parent Kennedy.' And then the relationship just developed from there more.

Violet and Emmitt were together for 6 years, during which they had a civil union and eventually got married. They are currently in the process of legally divorcing.

A summary of sample demographics is found in Table 1.

Table 1. *Summary of Sample Demographics.*

	Family A *n* = 4	Family B *n* = 2	Family C *n* = 2	Family D *n* = 2
Location	non-metropolitan	non-metropolitan	metropolitan	metropolitan
Structure	Janet and Allison adopted from birth, divorced when child was 4, both repartnered, split custody. Out as lesbians before having child.	Single gay father, biological father from previous heterosexual marriage, split custody. Came out as gay one year ago.	Engaged lesbian mother, biological parent from previous heterosexual marriage, split custody. Came out as lesbian 4 years ago.	Single queer mother, adopted from birth, was out as lesbian before having child.
Annual household income	Janet & Sandra: $90-100K Allison: $50-60K	$40-50K	$40-50K	$80-90K
Parent name	Allison, Janet, Sandra	Kurt	Tanesha	Violet
Parent gender	3 cisgender females	1 cisgender male	1 cisgender female	1 cisgender female
Parent race	White	Black	Black	White
Parent age	47, 48, 69	51	42	55
Parent sexual orientation	lesbian	gay	lesbian	queer
Parent education	J: Undergraduate A: Graduate degree S: Graduate degree	Some college, no degree	Graduate degree	Graduate degree
Child	Aden	Nolan	Siyanda	Kennedy
Child sexual orientation	heterosexual	heterosexual	bisexual	queer
Child gender	Cisgender male	Cisgender male	Cisgender female	Transgender male
Child race	Black	Black	Black	Black
Child age	14	18	16	16

Chapter 5: Results

In this chapter I present the results of the current study in order of research question. The first four research questions sought to analyze and describe the processes of racial socialization and queer socialization. The remaining questions discuss the relationships between the two processes, community context, and children's responses to parents' socialization practices. Data presented here come predominantly from participants' interview transcripts, however, questionnaire and observation data is also included throughout.

Research Questions 1 & 2: Racial Socialization

My first research question asked what LGQ parents in mixed race families and families of color teach their children about race.

What do LGQ parents teach their children about race? I proposed that the content of racial socialization messages would be related to the four racial socialization strategies defined in the literature: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and mainstream socialization (Hughes, et al., 2006). Results support my proposition. Consistent with previous literature, cultural socialization was the most frequently discussed content area of racial socialization, followed by preparation for bias, mainstream socialization, and promotion of mistrust (in descending order). The quantitative results are in line with the content areas that families reported engaging in during interviews. On questionnaires, parents and children rated their support for each content area of racial socialization on a scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). On average, participants agreed that parents should engage in cultural socialization ($M = 4.45$) and preparation for bias ($M = 4.02$), disagreed that parents should engage in mainstream socialization ($M = 2.22$), and strongly disagreed that parents should engage in promotion of mistrust ($M = 1.93$). I review each strategy below, and discuss racial socialization from sources outside of the parental system.

Racial cultural socialization. Cultural socialization involves teaching children about their racial heritage or history, promoting cultural customs and traditions, and encouraging racial pride. Cultural socialization was found in all four families. Examples of cultural socialization in this study include celebrating Kwanzaa and Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, exposure to Black culture through art, movies, and museums, talking to children about Black history and their racial heritage, and spending time with Black friends and family.

Examples of cultural socialization were reported during holiday celebrations such as Kwanzaa, as Violet described:

> [F]rom when the kids were very young, we lit the candles each night and would talk about… there's an African value that's tied to each candle. So, like one of the candles is an African word that means "self-determination" and so that's one of the values. Another one is tied to economics,

> and it's really like supporting like businesses and stuff, so each of them has a different meaning, and we would kind of talk about what those... We'd say the African word. I mean, we were like reading it in the book as we're doing it. But we'd talk about what it meant and everything, and then we'd light the candle.

One family turned a National Holiday into a cultural holiday, as Allison explained:

> For quite some time we would celebrate Martin Luther King day as an actual holiday… ya know, cook a meal and stuff like that… and, ya know, done things like take him… out volunteering on THAT day. Right? To talk about how it's an important piece of history, and an important piece of social justice history and Black history… When Aden was little we used to joke that Martin would come down the chimney and give presents to all the good little boys and girls who stood up for social justice this year. .. It was a gift giving occasion… We [would] go southern on it, ya know, do fried chicken and cornbread and green beans.

Children were also exposed to Black culture through media and entertainment choices. For example, Kurt often used movies to teach his son about race:

> We watched the Malcolm X movie and I would pause and then we would sit and talk about different things. So I would use that as a way to have a discussion. And Selma, he really enjoyed Selma... We saw Selma and I told him recently, I said, "We need to see Race."

Similarly, Tanesha used museums to teach her children about their culture:

> [We] go to museums, like if they have specific exhibitions that are about Black people, or about Africans… I'll take them to see that stuff. The African History Museum. And also any other museum if it has something going on about Black people. The Natural History Museum they have an exhibit on Africa, I think it's Senegal… So I took them to see that.

White parents reported teaching children about Black culture by purposefully exposing them to the Black individuals in their networks. For example, Janet explained how her son has learned about African American Vernacular English (AAVE) from a relationship with an adult friend who is Black:

> You know I think of my friend Ethan who is a professor and you know, when he's talking with me, you know, he sounds very much like a middle class professor... But as soon as he talks to Aden his language changes. And I've always been really grateful. He's not the only person who does that with Aden and I've always been really grateful to the people who do.

Black parents also exposed their children to other Black adults, but unlike the White parents in this sample, Black parents' social networks were almost exclusively Black, so this kind of exposure was not a purposeful socialization strategy for them.

Cultural socialization also involved instilling racial pride, as Siyanda described: "Ever since I was younger I've been taught that being Black is being beautiful and powerful." When I asked Kennedy what

he had learned about what it means to be Black, he said: “that it's not something to be like, ashamed of or to not want to be Black or anything. It's something you should be proud of.” Aden answered the same question similarly: “Well, mostly just like, be proud of it.”

Preparation for racial bias. Preparation for bias refers to racial socialization practices that promote children's awareness of racial discrimination and prepare them to cope with it. In this study, parents and children discussed racism and colorism, particularly within the contexts of school and interactions with the police. They described advice such as being polite and reasonable, keeping your hands on the wheel when interacting with the police, and making sure to have supporting documentation.

Discussions about racial discrimination occurred in all four families. For example, Aden reported: “[My parents and I] talked about, like how you have to… sometimes you have to act better in public... because people, a lot of times, assume that Black people, or people of color or whatever, are kind of trouble.” These conversations often revolved around interactions with the police, including interactions that had yet to occur. Tanesha described teaching Siyanda what to do if she is ever pulled over while driving in the future:

> [I] let her know how to behave, to try to not escalate the situation, especially if she thinks she about to be feisty or whatever… your battle's not while y’all talking in that car. Like, if you feel like they doing something wrong, wait ‘til you go to court or whatever. Get you a lawyer, and stuff like that. Cause you not about to solve nothing right then and there when they pull you over.

Violet told her son to avoid interacting with the police because of the potential for racial discrimination after she found out he and a group of friends had video recorded a police officer during a Black Lives Matter protest. Kennedy said:

> I was telling my mom about that and she was like, "You just gotta be careful." I could tell she thought they should leave the officer alone, but he kinda started it. She said ‘be careful’ and if other people around me start to do something with the police officers I shouldn't get involved.

Preparation for bias also happened after a discriminatory experience. For example, Nolan was asked to leave his seat in the movie theater to make room for a White couple who had accidentally been sold the same seats. Nolan refused to move and showed the employee his ticket. Kurt discussed it with him later, and noted the importance of having supporting documentation (“something in your hand”):

> I told him like what happened at the theater that that’s gonna happen for the rest of your life, but I’m proud that you stood up for your rights. But you had something in your hand and that’s what you’re gonna have to do. Take advantage of the law; evaluate the situation as reasonably as you can.

Tanesha was the only parent who reported discussing colorism in addition to racism. When I asked her how she had taught Siyanda about discrimination, Tanesha noted that colorism was an important topic in her family because they have relatively lighter skin.

> The conversation that I had with her… may likely have been me retelling something that happened in my own classroom because that's something that I had to deal with, as a teacher. Someone yelling out that someone's "Black," and they meaning that in a derogatory way. And so I might tell Siyanda this scenario, this situation that happened, and then explain, there was a situation with colorism.

Mainstream racial socialization. Mainstream socialization, or egalitarianism and silence about race (Hughes, et al., 2006) refers to racial socialization practices that either avoid discussions of race with children or encourage children to value individual qualities over racial group membership. The most common example of mainstream socialization in this study occurred when participants reported that they did not discuss race in their families, occasionally even when an event or situation seemed racially motivated.

For example, Violet described how she avoided talking to her son about an incident of racial discrimination that occurred at school, in which another student asked Kennedy why he was "so Black":

> I'm trying to remember if I actually addressed that with Kennedy or not. I don't know. I think early on for me there was still a lot that I was trying to sort through about other people's reactions and things that I might say back to them and stuff and I wasn't as much focusing on... Oh, I don't know (Sighs). I don't know. I mean I was focusing on the kids because I wanted to expose them to their own culture and stuff like that, but I don't know that I had too many 'after an incident' conversations, you know?

Other times egalitarian values were communicated more directly in conversation, such as Janet explaining to her son the importance of focusing on each individual's positive qualities:

> I remember telling him when he was little that people look at me and see a woman and they don't expect that I will be able to do these things, but I can. And, ya know, different people are going to see ALL of us in different ways and whatever your truth is, you know what that truth is. You know that you're good, or you're smart, or you're beautiful, or you're kind, or you're strong or whatever it is, you kind of have to… live by that.

Mainstream socialization could also been seen in the lack of visible Black culture in the home, as Kurt mentioned when I asked him how he had taught his son about his racial heritage:

> I'm not very good at that. When you come in my house, there's not an item in view that shows I have any kind of connection with either my Indian side—my grandmother was Choctaw Indian—or Africa. There's nothing in this room that represents Africa.

Racial promotion of mistrust. Promotion of mistrust describes parenting practices that emphasize the need for wariness and distrust during interracial interactions. Promotion of mistrust may involve discussing the existence of racism, but it is distinguished from preparation for bias in that no advice is offered for coping with racism. Consistent with prior research on racial socialization, promotion of mistrust was rarely discussed in the data, but was occasionally described by participants. For example, Janet described a conversation with her 14 year old son about the police: "Aden's like, 'Well you can't trust the cops.' And I can't… say that's not true. [W]hat I can say is, 'I think most cops… can be trusted, but you're right, you can't know… who that is.'" Similarly, Kurt reported talking to his son about racism and discrimination (e.g., "I let him know that there are times in his life where he may be treated differently because of the color of his skin… it's going to be a reality") but when I asked him what advice he gave his son about handling or coping with racism he said: "I haven't broken it down."

Other racial socialization. Participants in this study also reported racial socialization related to culture and preparation for bias from sources other than parents, usually with Black adults outside the main family system. For example, Allison's partner, Maureen, often talks with Aden about her experiences as an African American woman, and Black culture more broadly. Maureen does not live with Allison, and Allison does not consider her a co-parent to Aden, but she does contribute to his racial socialization. Similarly, Violet reported that Kennedy's recent interactions with his biological family, although infrequent, have influenced his knowledge about race: "I would say the other aspect of it …is Kennedy's contact with his birth families… I think that's part of [his] own racial identity, too, is understanding [his] birth parents and everything." In both of these families, these forms of racial socialization were initiated by the teens themselves, not the parents, and thus are not purposeful racial time management on the parent's part. For the Black parents, a similar pattern emerged, in which teenagers would form relationships with adults and peers outside the family system that facilitated racial socialization. For example, Siyanda often has discussions about race on social media, and has participated in Black Lives Matter protests and events independently of Tanesha: "Over the summer I was in three Black Lives Matter protests in Metropolis [with my friends]." Nolan spoke often of videos on YouTube that had taught him about racial discrimination, and the conversations he had with friends at school about racially biased policing:

> I talked to one of my friends… there was this Black kid who got shot by police officers and he was just walking. We just had a big discussion about it, about the evidence, about what the policeman said and what his friend said.

My second research question asked how and why LGQ parents in Black and mixed race families socialize their children about race. Here I address each half of the question separately and I provide examples of each form of racial socialization in order of frequency.

How do LGQ parents socialize their children about race? I proposed that LGQ parents in Black and mixed race families would socialize their children about race both directly and indirectly through interaction, instruction, and the management of children's time and environment (Parke, et al., 1994). Results are in line with my proposition. In this study, direct socialization was the most frequent form of racial socialization, followed by indirect racial socialization, and racial time management.

Direct racial socialization. Direct racial socialization takes place when parents teach their children about race through explicit verbal communication. For example, Kurt directly discussed racism with his 18 year old son: "I let him know that in this world that he lives in, when they see his color, they'll make all kinds of conclusions… before they even know him." Direct socialization was most common with cultural socialization and preparation for bias. For example, Violet directly discussed the potential for racial discrimination with her son, particularly when he is hanging out with other Black teens that may be perceived as dangerous, and advised avoidance:

> I would worry about that because it'd be like if there were four or five… only Black teens walking around you're gonna get in trouble…so we talked about... what kind of situations would [be] likely, like if they're hanging out at the back of a store a lot or something like that, you know, then you might be raising suspicions if the store clerks think that you're kind of hiding something or doing something back there you shouldn't or whatever. You know, that you wanna kind of keep moving along.

Janet described direct cultural socialization through conversations with her son about history: "[W]e talk a lot about, ya know… civil rights movement, and we try to talk about it in a lot of different ways."

Indirect racial socialization. Indirect racial socialization occurs when children learn about race through time spent interacting with parents during shared activities. Racial socialization is indirect in these cases "because the parent's goal is not to explicitly modify or enhance" (Parke, et al., 1994, p. 115) children's knowledge about race. For example, when I asked Siyanda, a 16 year old high school junior, how she learned about Black culture, she described general interactions with her mother, as well as the ways that her mother brought African culture into their home, rather than specific, purposeful conversations: "She just brings, like, cultural aspects into our home, and just in general putting me in a school, being able to talk to her about school and stuff." Similarly, Violet said that issues of race come up often in her conversation with her sons, but that she does not purposefully direct the conversation there in an attempt to teach anything:

> I just, I listen. I ask questions. I try to help with some of the processing of it but it's not me initially going and explaining something that they haven't already encountered… what happens more, is just that they go about their days and then when they tell me stuff I help them.

Parents also reported that they discussed race with others while their children were present. Both Kurt and Allison reported talking about race with their partners while their children were around. Kurt said "I know he's probably heard me and Dan talk about race," and Allison said: "If it comes up between, ya know, just saying something with me and Maureen, we'll keep… we certainly don't avoid anything like that around him."

Racial time management. Parents also socialize their children about race as managers of children's social worlds. Although children may have more influence in the decision making process as they get older, parents teach their children about race by controlling what, where, and with whom children spend time. For example, all of the parents in this study either sent their children to predominantly Black/African centered schools or to after school programs that discussed racism, as Nolan explains: "My mom and dad, in my sophomore year, [got] me into a program which is a Black community and we talk about racial discrimination… and how race plays a big part in society."

White parents of Black children made particular efforts to expose their children to other Black individuals through activities and friendships. When I asked Violet, a White woman, how she taught her 16-year-old Black son about race, for example, she said: "I urged Kennedy to do that Metropolis Freedom School Program which is... really, really accomplished a lot in that regard. The program was exclusively for people of color. And um... so I think that really accomplished a lot." Sandra also described making an effort to expose her son, Aden, to Black culture: "When we're on vacations we always try to find things that are… would be of interest to him or would be educational for him and definitely things that are related to being… to his Blackness."

Why do LGQ parents socialize their children about race? I proposed that parents would engage in racial socialization in order to buffer the negative effects of discrimination and racism. Results support the proposition that parents engage in racial socialization due to concern for their children's wellbeing, and also indicate three other reasons that racial socialization occurs: parental characteristics, external pressures from specific and generalized others, and/or child characteristics. I discuss each rationale in order of frequency, and describe how the reasons for racial socialization are related to the content (cultural socialization, preparation or bias, mainstream socialization, promotion of mistrust) and forms of socialization (direct, indirect, management) described above.

Parental characteristics. Parental characteristics were the most frequent rationale given to explain why parents engaged in racial socialization. The influence of parental characteristics appeared within all four families in the form of direct, indirect, and racial time management strategies, and was cited as a reason for all four content areas. Parents suggested that who they are as individuals, and their specific experiences, influenced their engagement in racial socialization. Parental characteristics include their beliefs, racial identity, and experiences with discrimination. For example, parents who experienced

discrimination based on their own or their child's race, or the racial difference between themselves and their child, discussed racial socialization as an important coping strategy. Kurt explains that his past experiences and beliefs about White people lead him to indirectly promote mistrust with his son. He described a conversation he had about race in front of his son:

> It's just that is something that I have believed because that's the impression I got in the presence of White people whether at school when I was growing up or even where I am now… that's how I've always felt. I felt, like, White people thought they were inherently superior to those of color.

Similarly, Tanesha explained that cultural socialization was important to her because of her spiritual beliefs: "It's important for me to acknowledge the benefits that my ancestors have given me." Because of this, she has an altar to her ancestors and other cultural items in her home.

Parent's racial identity was also an important characteristic. For the White parents specifically, it was important to acknowledge that the racial difference between themselves and their children can make some forms of racial socialization inappropriate. For example, Violet said that she does not presume to explain racism to her Black children because unlike her, they experience it firsthand: "In a way, kind of like people talk about like man-splaining (chuckles), or something, it would be like White-splaining. And I don't White-splain like that because it's part of... their daily lives, you know?" Similarly, Allison described making efforts to put her son in places where he could learn about Black culture because he's "surrounded by middle aged White women" (racial time management):

> [W]hen he was little we explicitly tried to find child-care settings that would have more African American people in them… even when he was an infant. We specifically went out of our way to find a home-care place that was run by a Black woman… and then when he got older to do things like, ya know, summer camps, and stuff like that we again, tried to find a place that, ya know, he would have that kind of exposure.

Racial identity also influenced Black parents engagement in racial socialization with their children. For example, Tanesha described herself as extremely "pro-black" and said "I just have a lot of pride in who I am ethnically." Her sense of racial pride led her to engage in racial socialization with her children. Conversely, Kurt said: "I'm not where my Black friends are. I'm… not at peace with being Black. That's the honest answer. I know I'm not at peace being Black." His struggle to embrace his racial identity, combined with his own experiences of racism led him to avoid conversations about race with his son (indirect mainstream socialization):

> I think that's why I'm always at the movies. My mind is always engaged elsewhere…I'm just like my neighbor; he's an older Black gentleman with a 18, 19 year old son. When we come indoors, everything's closed off. We've blocked out the rest of the world. But it's because we've had our dukes up ALL day… just to survive. And when we come in we can be ourselves. I don't think it's

> by chance; it'd be interesting to see a study… how different African Americans cope with life out in that world, because we've had to put on these faces. We have to do these things in a hostile environment, just to survive. I don't think it's by chance that my neighbor, we're exactly the same way. His windows, the blinds are closed. He and his son come in, you don't hear anything, no movement, and that's how my son and I are. We come in, we get into our shows and we're just… total escapism.

Concern for children's wellbeing. Racial socialization often occurs when parents are concerned about their children's wellbeing, from mental health to physical safety. Concerns for wellbeing were the second most cited reason for engaging in racial socialization and were found directly, indirectly, or through time management in all four families relative to all four content areas. Parents stressed that the reason why they engaged in racial socialization was because they were sensitive to their child's needs. Violet, a White mother with an African American son explained: "It's not just… one way of teaching; it's an ability to listen to what his concerns are." Parents thought that racial socialization would be positive for both their children's mental health and their physical safety. For example, a common physical safety concern was assault by police officers. After her son videotaped a confrontation with a police officer during a Black Lives Matter protest, Violet explained that her concerns about physical safety were a main reason she tried to prepare her son for bias:

> I just wanted to make sure that Kennedy was aware of how quickly things can turn and how real, serious consequences can come about…I mean, there's racial justice and then... there's the parenting end, that's my child there, you know? And so I want Kennedy to have a very strong commitment to racial justice and involvement in those issues and at the same time I don't want anything happening to my child... and there are loaded guns there and, you know.

Parents were also concerned for their children's emotional wellbeing. For example, Tanesha's concern for her children's mental health was a reason why she focuses on individual qualities (mainstream socialization):

> I think I tend to talk more about how they're great, and we're great as a people as opposed to like, what other people can [or] have done… I don't want them to feel like they're limited by anything because of racism, or their race.

Janet explained why focusing too much on racism could be a bad thing for her 14 year old son: "You can't keep asking [if he's experienced racism] 'cause then the kid thinks 'well, maybe I deserve to be discriminated against.'" Because he feared his son would have negative experiences similar to his own, Kurt made sure to talk to his son about his heritage (cultural socialization):

> Mom never brought up how you're different from other people… and what you may experience. But I certainly am not gonna let that happen with my son. So I've told him, you have another heritage… your grandmother was [American] Indian. She married a man from Africa.

Parents also occasionally described promoting mistrust because of concerns about wellbeing. For example, Kurt worried that his son's attraction to White women may cause him hardship in the future: "I have not brought up that issue about his strong attraction to White... Why White women and not Black women?... I'm just saying I don't want my son harmed. I don't want him to suffer."

External pressures. Parents in all four families engaged in racial socialization because of external pressure from specific sources known to the parents (e.g., friends, family), and from generalized others such as the media or US society. External pressures manifested in direct, indirect, and racial time management strategies related to cultural socialization and preparation for bias only; no one in this study reported external pressure to engage in mainstream socialization or promotion of mistrust.

External pressure from specific sources was cited by the White parents of Black children as a reason they engaged in racial socialization. For example, Allison described how external pressure from Black friends lead her to prepare her son for bias, for example:

> [Q]uite a few people would be like, 'No one's going to tell your kid all the right stuff. Like how to act. You're not going to do it.' So we'd be like, 'So tell us what we say! What do we say!?' Ya know? But just all this stuff that they would say, 'if he gets pulled over, hands stay on the steering wheel.' Right? 'Do not move them from the steering or even put them on the dashboard!' Right. 'Never run.' Right? Um… 'if any of them wants to stop you, don't run'… our Black friends pretty much presented them to us as like survival rules… 'This is how you survive these things.'

Violet's strategy was to read books about transracial adoption, which also stressed the importance of racial socialization.

Black parents reported that broader external pressures, such as the fact that the media often portrays acts of racial discrimination, led them to engage in racial socialization. Tanesha explained that one of the reasons that cultural socialization is so important is that US society focuses so much on White culture: "I don't feel like I'm sheltering them by only exposing them to Black stuff, like, they're gonna get that other stuff because that's the predominant culture or whatever. They're gonna get exposed to it because we're in America."

Child characteristics. Parents also engaged in racial socialization in response to children's characteristics, including the child's personality, friends, and experiences. Although child characteristics were the least frequently reported rationale, participants in all four families in this study suggested that who the child is as an individual influenced what kinds of things they have learned about race. Child characteristics were cited as a reason for all four racial socialization content areas, however, only via

indirect and time management strategies. For example, Kennedy explained that his shy personality leads him to be an observer rather than have direct conversations about race with his mom: "I don't do much talking to people, because I don't like to talk. But it's more me just picking up on things." Children's experiences with racial socialization at school also influenced parental racial socialization. Siyanda explained that the cultural socialization she received at school meant that her parents did not have to engage in cultural socialization as frequently: "I feel like they… they know I know. I don't know everything, but they feel like I know so much from going to [an African Centered School] that it doesn't have to be brought up."

Mainstream socialization also occurred because of child characteristics. Kurt explained that his son's preferences (child characteristic) keep them from having conversations about race:

> [T]hese are not things my son brings up on his own. Not racial issues… it's hard enough for me to get him to watch a movie that the obvious theme is Civil Rights… He's not just going to want to watch those movies because they are relevant themes. He wants to see something because it's exciting.

Racial Socialization Summary

In sum, racial socialization among Black and mixed race LGQ parent families teaches children about culture, discrimination, wariness during interracial relationships, and the importance of individual characteristics through direct, indirect, and time management strategies due to parental concerns for children's wellbeing, external pressures, and parental and child characteristics. The content, form, and rationale for racial socialization are connected; Table 2 provides a summary of the relationship between content, rationale, and form in order of reported frequency (e.g., parental characteristics were reported most often relative to the other three rationales). Direct socialization was used for all four of the reasons described above to communicate content related primarily to cultural socialization and preparation for bias. Indirect socialization was used for all four of the reasons described to communicate content related primarily to cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and mainstream socialization. Racial time management was used for the same four reasons, but primarily for cultural socialization. Concern for children's wellbeing and parental characteristics were offered as reasons for all four racial socialization content areas. External pressures were cited infrequently and given as reasons for cultural socialization and preparation for bias only. Child characteristics were infrequently invoked but were used in all four families, primarily as a reason why the mainstream socialization strategy was used.

Table 2. *Content, Rationale, and Form of Racial Socialization by Frequency.*

	1. Parental Characteristics	2. Concern for wellbeing	3. Pressure from others	4. Child Characteristics
1. Direct	• Preparation for bias • Mainstream socialization •	• Cultural socialization • Preparation for bias • Mainstream socialization •	• Cultural socialization • Preparation for bias • •	• • • • Mainstream socialization
2. Indirect	• Cultural socialization • Preparation for bias • Mainstream socialization • Promotion of mistrust	• Cultural socialization • Preparation for bias • Mainstream socialization • Promotion of mistrust	• Cultural socialization • Preparation for bias • •	• • Preparation for bias • Mainstream socialization • Promotion of mistrust
3. Time Management	• Cultural socialization • • Mainstream socialization •	• Cultural socialization • • Mainstream socialization •	• Cultural socialization • Preparation for bias • •	• Cultural socialization • • Mainstream socialization •

Research Questions 3 & 4: Queer Socialization

My third research question asked what LGQ parents tell children during conversations about queer culture.

What do LGQ parents teach their children about queer culture? I proposed that the content of queer socialization messages would be related to the four strategies defined in the racial socialization literature: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and mainstream socialization. Results support my proposition, and also suggest that children learn about queer culture from non-parental sources. Consistent with previous racial socialization literature, cultural socialization was the most frequently discussed form of queer socialization in interviews, followed by mainstream socialization, promotion of mistrust, and preparation for bias (in descending order). The quantitative results differ slightly from the content areas of queer socialization that families reported during interviews. Specifically, although participants reported preparation for bias least frequently during interviews, it was the most strongly endorsed content area on questionnaires. On questionnaires, parents and children rated their support for each content area of queer socialization on a scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). On average, participants agreed that parents should engage in queer preparation for bias ($M = 4.14$), were neutral about whether parents should engage in queer cultural

socialization (M = 3.92), and disagreed that parents should engage in mainstream socialization (M =2.26) and promotion of mistrust (M = 2.25). I describe each strategy below in order of frequency reported during interviews, and conclude by discussing queer socialization from outside the parent-child relationship.

Queer cultural socialization. Recall that queer cultural socialization involves teaching children about queer culture, and promoting diverse notions of gender, sexuality, and family. Examples of queer cultural socialization in this study include exposure to queer culture through pride parades, movies, and museums, coming out to children, discussing diverse notions of sexuality, gender identity, and family structure with children, and spending time with LGBTQ friends and family.

Allison taught her son about the diversity of family structures by talking openly and positively with her son about his adoption:

> [W]e have long told him, its family lore. How we drove up to Metropolis and picked him up from the hospital when he was 24 hours old… and we've told him about how we found the Family Center as a place that was willing to deal with us as a couple of women who were adopting together and not playing any silly games about who we really are. We wanted an open adoption just cause that's, frankly, mentally better for everybody… and he doesn't have big, "Oh my God am I ever gonna know this strange person?" questions. It's like "oh yeah, it's Desirae [his birth mother]. We can find her if we need to." You know? We told him about how… she was like 6 weeks from being due when we met with her and had like a four hour interview/conversation with her so she could decide if we were gonna be cool enough.

These kinds of "family lore," in addition to their current blended family constellation, make it clear that nuclear families and heterosexual reproduction are not the only way to create family. Similarly, Violet spoke openly with her children about their adoptions, and taught them about family diversity by exposing them to other mixed race LGQ parent families:

> [W]e were part of a group of about 10 or 12 families that had [White] gay or lesbian parents and adopted African American kids… most of them went through the same adoption agency that I went to. And when the kids were like toddlers, we started getting together so that they would not feel that their family was as unique, you know. So we met once a month and rotated in different families' homes, and it would be like a pot luck, and then the kids would just run and play, and the parents would talk.

Sexual and gender fluidity were also commonly reported topics in this study. Tanesha recalled one conversation with her daughter:

> I remember one day us having a conversation about the spectrum of sexuality, and she was kind of, like, saying where she felt she was on that spectrum, and I was kind of saying where I felt I

> was, and I was telling her, like, it's not a solid thing. It can change and flow and, just be different at any time in your life.

Janet taught Aden about diverse sexual orientations by making sure not to assume her son would be heterosexual:

> [W]hen Aden was little I was very, very conscientious not to suggest one way or the other. That Aden was either going to be straight or gay. I'd say well, "when you grow up, you're gonna find a person to fall in love with," or "you might have a boyfriend or a girlfriend."

Although Aden does now identify as heterosexual, he was aware of other sexual orientations and knew his parents would be supportive: "[My parents] told me that they were fine with me turning out to be whatever sexual orientation I would be." Siyanda recalled a conversation with Tanesha about gender: "Me and my mom were talking about it. We were just like, no one's set in stone masculine. No one's set in stone feminine. But… it can change. It changes." Janet reported teaching her son about gender diversity by asking him to think critically about his own gender identity and transgender people from a young age:

> He was probably in fourth or fifth grade. Well, yea, tennish. [I asked him] "Are you a boy even without your penis? Do you feel like you're a boy on the inside? What makes you feel like a boy, and can you imagine feeling like a girl? If you know you feel like a boy now… What would that be like…to have that same knowledge… about who you are, but not have it match your body?"

Taking pride in one's sexuality and gender identity, and accepting others' identities was also part of queer cultural socialization: "Me and my dad talked… that being gay is…about how it's a part of who they are and that it's not a bad thing and no one should be made fun of because of their sexual orientation." Aden said:

> They just said that I should be respectful towards people who might be transgender… instead of… I guess I can use the technical term but like, cisgendered… is what I've always been. They've always been but like they said I should always be respectful and courteous toward those who aren't.

Queer mainstream socialization. Mainstream queer socialization refers to queer socialization practices that avoid discussions of queer culture with children, encourage children to value individual qualities over queer community membership, or encourage heteronormative understandings of gender, sexuality, and family. The most common example of mainstream socialization in this study occurred when parents engaged in heteronormative socialization, or ignored/denied their children's heteronormative behaviors and beliefs.

Heteronormative socialization refers to socialization practices that instill heteronormative beliefs/attitudes in children, such as: there are only two genders, our bodies define our gender identity, sexuality is biologically based and fixed, individuals are either heterosexual or homosexual, and families

are composed of genetically and legally related individuals only. For example, Kurt frequently misgendered transgender individuals he saw in the media, and shared these images and misunderstandings with his son. He described one such instance with a transgender man in a news article:

> My son would walk in here and I said, "What do you think about this guy right here?" He said, "What am I supposed to think? I mean, it's a guy." I said, "No, that's not. Son, that's a woman." But I've shared those photos with my son and he just, he's like "Wow."

Parents also participate in mainstream queer socialization when they avoid talking about gender and sexuality with their children. When asked how they have talked about gender and sexuality in their family, "we haven't really talked about that" or "it's not really brought up" were common responses, particularly from teens. For example, when I asked Nolan if he and his dad had talked about the then recent news stories about "bathroom bills" and "religious freedom laws," he said "I never heard anything about that until you brought it up."

Mainstream socialization messages were communicated when parents ignored heteronormative behaviors in their children. For example, Janet described a situation in which her son lied about his family structure at school:

> As a little kid he would always, ya know, beginning of school, 'write about your family' or whatever, and he'd always write about his mom and dad and his two brothers, because he has two biological brothers. One of whom is being raised by his birth mother who we don't really have contact with at this point, and one who is being raised by another lesbian couple… and I don't think anyone has ever made a big deal about… "Aden, ya don't have a mom and a dad and… your family doesn't look like what you've drawn"

Rather than discuss the situation with Aden, and perhaps offer him the language to discuss his actual family configuration, Janet disregarded the event and Aden's heteronormative understanding of family went unaddressed.

Queer promotion of mistrust. Recall that queer promotion of mistrust refers to socialization related to instilling suspicion toward heterosexual or cisgender individuals, and/or groups that have discriminated against sexual and gender minorities such as socially conservative religious or political organizations. For example, Violet made sure her 16 year old transgender son was aware of discrimination against transgender people through their interactions on social media:

> I will just take a post and I'll just send it through messenger as a message to him. And there was one the other day about a twelve to fourteen year old trans boy who was in the hospital being supposedly supported in a gender transition. But the hospital staff kept calling him 'she.' And he ended up killing himself, you know. And, "Oh you're too pretty to be a boy." You know, this kind

> of stuff. So I sent that to Kennedy and Kennedy sent back a little emoji of a heart that's been broken, severed down the middle and stuff.

These types of interactions on social media may heighten Kennedy's awareness of discrimination, but they do not provide him with strategies for avoiding or coping with discrimination. Nolan also received messages from his father that heightened his awareness but did not provide concrete strategies:

> Me and my dad talk about this all the time. And it's not just the LGBTQ community, it's people in general. There will be people who will try to hurt you, take advantage of you and stuff like that and you have to watch out for those people.

Similarly, when I asked Allison how she discussed marriage equality with her son, she said:

> Just how it was basically unfair to be like, "No, these people can't get married." And [we] talked about, ya know, how do you think it actually hurts anybody else?… and just talked about, how all the arguments against it are based in some really…just, hateful ideas and not at all reasonable or respectful.

Allison sent a positive message about queer people by letting her son know that same-sex marriage bans were unfair, and people who supported them were unreasonable, but did not teach him how to interact with or respond to such individuals and sentiments.

Queer preparation for bias. Queer preparation for bias involves teaching children about discrimination against the LGBTQ community and providing guidance for how to respond to it. The most common advice parents gave children was to avoid or ignore those who might treat them poorly because of their parents (or their own) sexual orientation. For example, Nolan described the advice Kurt gave him about dealing with queer-related discrimination "[Dad] basically said 'just don't listen to 'em, ignore what they say … just because we're different doesn't mean that we should abide to anyone's rules, just to gain acceptance' and stuff like that." Notably, this was the only time queer preparation for bias was reported in Family B. Parents also taught children how to respond to discrimination by modeling acceptable behavior. For example, Janet and Sandra prepared their 14 year old son for queer-related bias by making sure he saw how they responded to discrimination, as Janet described:

> [Our pride flag has] been stolen a couple times, and one of the things that I've made sure Aden was aware of was that when it was stolen, that we called the police, the police came, they took the statement… I tried to make sure that Aden saw a part of that so that Aden could see the police having a good interaction with us, but also so he had a sense that there's some things that just aren't right and that's one of them.

Parents also prepared their children for bias preemptively. For example, Tanesha told her daughter to be careful around religious people:

> I may have just told her to be careful. Because some people are close-minded, and you don't want them to say, like, you can't hang around their daughter, you know, because of whatever. So, just maybe being cautious about certain people that show their homophobia to you.

When Allison feared she and her son might experience prejudice during a trip to visit her conservative, religious mother, she proactively prepared him for bias by explaining the situation and describing how they would respond should any discriminatory treatment occur:

> He and I have talked about it, how I haven't been close with my mom and don't feel like she's respectful of me and my family. I've said to him, last couple of times we were going over there, "if we feel like we're just being disrespected there, we're just gonna pack up and go. We'll just get back in the car and if it's late in the evening we'll go to a hotel. I don't care. And we'll just come home. We're not gonna sit around and let people treat us crappy.

Parents in Families C and D, whose children also identified as non-heterosexual, also reported preparation for bias relative to their children's identities. For example, Siyanda learned from her mother to avoid people who might not be supportive of her sexuality:

> I feel like my mom feels like… if they don't accept you then they're not really your real people to hang out with. So if you find that they're doing something that is not right then you just leave them alone. But like don't like hold your guard up against them just like…try to be cool with everyone. And then if they're like showing you a side that's not right then just like leave them alone.

The only time preparation for bias was reported in Family D was when Violet discussed the way she handles discriminatory situations after they occur: "[I]n terms of teaching Kennedy to protect himself…if I were with him, and somebody said something, then I would… afterwards ask Kennedy, 'Did that bother you? What would you want me to do in that situation?' Something like that."

Other queer socialization. Queer socialization also occurred independently of the parent-child relationship, including cultural socialization, preparation for bias, mainstream socialization, and promotion of mistrust. All four teens reported learning about queer culture from non-parental sources, including their high school teachers and peers. For example, Siyanda's teachers discussed and asked for preferred pronouns on the first day of class, and Aden learned about transgender issues in health class. Preparation for bias was also commonly discussed. Nolan talked frequently about LGBTQ identified or LGBTQ positive YouTubers that he loved and watched frequently: "a song I know from YouTube… really piqued my interest because it has a good beat but it teaches a lesson about being gay and how people in the gay community are being treated." The song he refered to is called "Spectrum" and it discusses anti-LGBTQ discrimination, and advises LGBTQ individuals in unsafe situations to be selective about who they come out to until they can find supportive friends and chosen family.

Teens also had exposure to mainstream heteronormative socialization within their schools, churches, and other members of their families. For example, Siyanda's father is not supportive of her or Tanesha as sexual minorities, and she reported that he often makes anti-LGBTQ statements around her:

> I was with my dad downtown, and this man he had on a rainbow shirt. And then [Dad] was like, 'damn that's messed up… That's the symbol for like gay people…now nobody can wear that if they're not gay… that's messed up. That's the first thing you think when you think of the rainbow.'

Similarly, Nolan described the anti-LGBTQ sentiments of the Jehovah's Witnesses: "the religion I was brought up in… if you are a part of the LGBTQ community… they'll try and say just 'don't be who you are.'" Promotion of mistrust was infrequently reported in this sample, however, two out of four teens reported receiving messages from teachers and peers at school to be wary of socially conservative individuals.

Why do LGQ parents socialize their children about queer culture? My fourth research question asked how and why LGQ parents in Black and mixed race families socialize their children about queer culture. As with racial socialization, I address each half of the question separately, beginning with rationales for socialization (why). I proposed that queer socialization would be used to buffer the negative effects of discrimination and heterosexism. Results support the proposition that parents engage in queer socialization because of concerns for their children's wellbeing, but also suggest three additional reasons why LGQ parents engage in queer socialization: parental characteristics, environmental characteristics, and child characteristics. I present each rationale below, in order of frequency.

Parental characteristics. Parental characteristics were the most frequently cited reason why parents engaged in queer socialization, and influenced queer socialization practices in all four families. Parental characteristics include parents' experiences, identity, beliefs, perceptions of relevance to their child, and perception of responsibility for teaching their child about queer culture. For example, Nolan explained that conversations about queer culture were sometimes due to his father's experiences with sexuality related discrimination: "[Dad] did talk to me about it a few times… 'there will be people who will criticize you' and stuff like that, because of what he's been through." Janet reported avoiding queer socialization (queer mainstream socialization, see above) because her identity as a lesbian is not as important to her as other aspects of her life:

> [Being a lesbian is] a part of what I am but it's not really the defining part of what I am… I mean, I've got so many more things in common with people than… a life, I wanna say a lifestyle but ya know… who we love I mean. I'd rather hang out with someone who likes cooking.

Tanesha reported that queer socialization took place with her children because gender equality is one of her deeply held beliefs about the world:

> I just never prescribed to that 'boys can do things, girls can't.' And I always told [my children] that… certain things I know I've had to evolve on, but that's one thing that I've always believed since I was a little girl.

Decisions about whether to engage in queer socialization were also related to parents' perceptions of queer culture's relevance to their children. When parents felt that it was relevant, they were purposive about doing it. For example, parents whose children also identified as LGBTQ felt that queer socialization was relevant to their children's lives. Violet explains: "I told them I guess because I didn't necessarily have a reason not to tell them. And I thought that maybe it would be useful information for Kennedy especially." However, parents with heterosexual children discussed how other activities that were more relevant to their children kept them from engaging in queer socialization. Allison said:

> Honestly I'm always much more worried about how he's doing in school and whether this [parent-teacher] conference is going to go okay than any of the rest of it. You know, I kind of file it in the back of my head.

Parents' perception of whether or not it was their responsibility to teach children about queer culture also influenced their decision making about queer socialization, as Allison explains: "it may have been for quite some time that we just… didn't really say anything about [queer culture] 'cause it was just our life and not like… a topic to bring up." These parents often believed that their children would learn about queer culture purely by virtue of having an LGQ parent, and no further discussion was required. Kurt learned from his indoctrination as a Jehovah's Witness that children absorb things from their environment like sponges:

> [T]hat's what a child is doing from a very early age and nothing has to be said… things don't have to be said necessarily at all. That's how much they're just picking up through their senses and they're processing it as an intelligent being… When my son is standing in the living room and… there're goodnight kisses, he's seeing me and Dan go to the bed. Do you understand? He's seeing me and Dan kiss and things like that…what the children are observing is sexuality that's different from what's considered norm.

Parental characteristics were also a reason why heteronormative socialization took place in LGQ parent families. Heteronormative socialization occurred when parents had essentialist beliefs about gender and sexuality (parental characteristic), which Kurt exemplifies:

> When you see anatomically how a man is made and how a woman is made, it's very obvious how they're made and how those parts, whether it's whether its Adam and Eve or its evolution. It's CLEAR how the parts are made and they're meant to work together … physiologically it does not seem like two men were meant to be together… So even my own son understands anatomically

> the way he's made…it fits perfectly with a female. Do you understand? And so he knows how the parts work.

Concern for children's wellbeing. LGQ parents in all four families in this study engaged in queer socialization due to concerns for their children's psychological wellbeing. Specifically, parents were concerned with ensuring that their children felt "normal" and that children would not be discriminated against because of their parents' sexual orientation. For example, Violet explains that it was important for her to expose her children to other LGQ parent families so that they would feel that their family was normal: "And when the kids were like toddlers, we started getting together [with other LGQ parent families] so that they would not feel that their family was as unique." Allison discussed a similar concern for her 14 year old son:

> My way of [talking about queer culture] is the same way of going at myself being adopted and him being adopted, which is there is no time where you have 'the talk.' Right? It's just a horrible thing to do to anybody (Chuckle)… instead, it's a part of everyone's life and you talk about that and that's good.

Parents were also concerned that others would treat their children poorly because of their parent's sexual orientation. For Kurt, the Jehovah's Witnesses, including his ex-wife, were a particular concern because he feared they would use Nolan to manipulate him:

> Now you have to understand, if my son chooses to become a Jehovah's Witness, there will be an incredible amount of pressure for him never to see me again. They will want him to and they will keep telling him this is the only way to get your dad back [in the church]. And that's why two out of three that are ex-communicated actually end up going back… it's not because of the faith, they believe in that God and the religion, it's really to see their families.

Allison's concern for how others might treat her son lead her to promote mistrust:

> 'Be wary of conservatives, Aden, 'cause they're not going to like our family… be wary of people who aren't going to like us for who we are.' Because he's Black, because he's got gay parents. I mean, all kinds of reasons that really stupid people would have to be upset with our family.

Concern for children's wellbeing as a rationale for queer socialization is framed within a larger Western belief system of child-centered parenting, which meant that children were often granted independence and control even when the result was negative for parents or children. For example, Allison is aware that her son lies about his family structure at school by telling his friends that Janet is his adoptive mother, Sandra is his aunt, and Allison is his adoptive grandmother. Although Allison described feeling hurt by Aden's refusal to acknowledge her as a parent, she allows him to continue the charade: "Cause I figure he's figuring his own way to handle this." Janet also reported going along with Aden's fictional family structure "cause that's what he's needed to do to feel like he… fits in." Thus, parental

concerns about their child feeling normal relative to their peers were often a reason why queer socialization did (or did not) take place.

After Kennedy came out to Violet as transgender, she discovered that he had been experiencing depression and suicidal thoughts. Kennedy reported that she made an effort to express her support for him and his transition (concerns for wellbeing): "She always says she'll support me with whatever. So it's just she'll support me no matter what. Like, it doesn't matter what I do and what I like or whatever."

Only one parent, Tanesha, reported concern for a child's physical safety as a rationale for queer socialization. After one of Siyanda's girlfriends came out to her father, the father requested a meeting with Siyanda. Tanesha expressed concern over Siyanda meeting with the girl's father because she feared he might harm Siyanda. Siyanda explained how the situation lead her mother to prepare her for bias:

> My mom was like, "Yeah, if he's trying to meet you I need to be there." 'Cause she's heard stories like people came out to their parents saying, "Oh, this is my girlfriend." So they thinking that, that person changed them, and so this lady shot at her daughter's girlfriend. Yeah, that's what my mom said, and she was like, "I don't know him. You don't know him, so you don't need to be meeting this man unless I'm there."

Child characteristics. Children's characteristics also influenced what children learned about queer culture in all four families. Child characteristics include children's personalities, preferences, and identities. For example, 18 year old Nolan has little interest in learning about queer culture, as his father, Kurt, describes: "If my son knows in advance [the movie] Milk is about the gay agenda, he's not gonna wanna see it just because it's a gay agenda. I know my son." Violet reported that it is difficult to discuss issues of sexuality with her 16 year old transgender son because he is still negotiating his identity:

> I do have an easier time talking about sexuality with [my older son] than with Kennedy because he's pretty open about it and he'll tell me what's going on in his life in that regard. But Kennedy is not comfortable with it and is not comfortable really with his own body. So it's um… so it's not something that we would talk about.

Some parents engaged in queer socialization because queerness is a shared identity between themselves and their child, as Siyanda reported: "[My mom and I] were talking about the Orlando shooting, and like we were just talking about how sad it was and stuff, and like how that could be us." Conversely, mainstream queer socialization was more likely to take place when queerness was not a shared identity between parents and children, as Aden described: "It doesn't really apply that much to my life, I guess. So, we don't talk about it that much. It's not... It just doesn't apply to my life. I mean, I'm not gay." However, mainstream socialization also occurred when parents believed their children were already aware of queer culture. For example, Violet reported that she did not have to teach her son about discrimination toward LGBTQ people because he was already aware it: "[With] all the attention in

schools about bullying and stuff like that… I think that they just know. And then Kennedy is always on social media and so he always follows things… particularly trans women of color being murdered."

***Environmental characteristics*.** Characteristics of the environment also served as an impetus for queer socialization for the four families in this study. The local, residential environment, as well as the broader societal environment influenced whether parents engaged in queer socialization. Three out of four families discussed the fact that their local environment did not have much of an identifiable queer community in which to socialize their children. Those that did have access to queer communities reported that they either excluded parents or were focused on LGBTQ parents of young children. Violet explained: "More of the conversations that I've had about like parenting have been with straight people. Because there just aren't as many parents in the queer community, particularly at similar ages as my kids and stuff." Tanesha also reported that Siyanda was "too old" for local events for LGBT parent families, which focused primarily on families with young children. Thus, although these parents reported a desire to engage in queer socialization by exposing their children to the local queer community, they often refrained from doing so because they perceived the queer community as a space in which parents and/or teenagers were unwelcome.

Broader cultural factors like religion and politics were a second environmental characteristic that influenced queer socialization. For example, Kurt and Nolan's awareness of various faith traditions' positions on LGBTQ individuals and their "past existence" as Jehovah's Witnesses influenced the discussions they had about queer culture, as Kurt reported: "Religion certainly has influenced me in that … there's a record that still says this is wrong. That plays in the back of my head… But my son he… I have to still reprogram him every weekend." Allison discussed the ways that anti-LGBTQ legislation influenced her conversations with her 14 year old son:

> [During a road trip] we drove through Indiana… and it was so on my mind that I did not want to stop in Indiana if I could help it… I was feeling unsafe just to be in the state of Indiana… and so we had the conversation of… ya know, "alright we're gassing up here, and we're going to try and get as far across Indiana as we possibly can without having to stop. And this is why," and we talked about the religious freedom laws and stuff like that.

Parents also engaged in queer socialization in response to heteronormative situations in their children's environments. For example, Violet described an encounter with religious bigotry at a Pride festival that prompted a conversation about sexuality:

> The time that we saw the preacher at the pride parade… it really was a massive, massive sign of hatred. You know, "God Hates Fags" and it was like as big as this desk if it were upright and painted red and everything. So it was very noticeable… Kennedy might have been maybe ten or so then…And [he] would be like "Do you see that sign?" You know, and I'd say "there are people

like that, that think that if someone is gay or lesbian that they're gonna go to hell and that it's okay to say that you hate gays and lesbians because they're just bad people who are gonna go to hell anyway." You know, and I said, "but as you can see most of the people here at the parade are happy to be here. And are supportive of people who come to the parade and everything." I just said, "we don't have to go near him or anything."

Allison described discussing gender stereotypes because of the environment in Aden's school:

> It would mostly be because… even after we'd said, "you can wear any color you want" he would get the feedback from his social circles, "no you can't. That's a girl color" and he'd come home and be like, "I can't wear this. It's a girl color." And we'd be like, 'How do colors have sex? How's a color a girl? How's a color a boy?'"

How do LGQ parents socialize their children about queer culture? I proposed that parents would socialize their children about queer culture both directly and indirectly through interaction, instruction, and the management of children's time and environment (Parke, et al., 1994). Results support this proposition. Indirect socialization was the most frequent form of queer socialization, followed by direct queer socialization, and queer time management. I provide examples of each strategy below, and discuss how the form of queer socialization is related to the content (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, mainstream socialization, promotion of mistrust) and rationales for socialization (concerns, environmental, parental and child characteristics) described above.

Indirect queer socialization. Indirect queer socialization occurs when children learn about queer culture through time spent interacting with parents. In these cases, children are learning about queer culture, even though such a knowledge transfer is not the parents' explicit goal in the interaction. For example, when asked how she taught her 16 year old son about gender and sexuality, Violet explained that the overall family culture she created was part of how her children learned about queer culture:

> [B]oth of my kids knew from the earliest of times that I identified as lesbian and so you know it's hard to think of a single like explicit conversation because it was just always something that was part of our family… I don't know that I explicitly taught anything about gender but I um… I didn't limit gender expressions in any way… like I said with the race… it wasn't like I was starting with a blank slate and then sitting down and explaining things to them. You know, it was just part of our family culture already.

Similarly, Sandra discussed the role of conversation during family dinners:

> A lot of things we don't specifically address with him, but he's here for table talk at dinnertime and he participates in that. Sometimes he has nothing he wants to offer, but he's heard us talk. So, we have a strong influence on his political views and some of his social views too.

Indirect queer socialization was used most often with cultural and mainstream socialization, but infrequently with preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. For example, Allison indirectly promotes mistrust when she discussed discriminatory laws with her son:

> We've talked about the proliferation of these horrible laws and how they're really only just making it possible for people to treat each other horribly and break all the civil rights rules that they possibly can… I don't seek him out to sit him down and have a conversation. It's more like we're having dinner and we'll be like, "Whoa, what happened today? Oh! Did you see in the newspaper?!"

In Violet's family, queer cultural socialization happens indirectly through her interactions with Kennedy on social media "[Queer culture is] just part of our ongoing conversation now…like I can ask him questions. He can bring things up. You know he'll send me something that he saw on Facebook, I'll send him something."

Indirect queer socialization occurred for all four reasons cited above. For example, Kurt indirectly promoted mistrust because of his negative past experiences (parental characteristic):

> [My son] knows I have some concerns… that third issue, not only are you Black in America, but you're a Black man, and now you're a gay Black man. That's a triple threat to the planet. So at that point and then I added being a Jehovah's Witness, so there was no way I was ever gonna win. I can't win.

Janet participated in indirect mainstream socialization because she felt it was better for her son (concern for wellbeing):

> I think about what's it's like to be 14 and how you're trying to create who you are and show the world who you are and you try on lots of different things. And you know, if Aden isn't at a point where he wants to share with the world that he has two White moms and a couple of stepmoms or a stepmom and a partner…that's okay.

Rather than confront him about not being out about his parents at school, Janet avoids the conversation entirely because she feels it is best for her son's developing sense of self.

Direct queer socialization. Direct queer socialization takes place when parents teach their children about queer culture through explicit verbal communication. For example, Janet explained how she has taught her 14 year old son about sexuality:

> We've always been open about sexuality, our own and just the fact that we're all sexual beings… ya know, "different people have different attractions and… they might be attracted to men, or they might be attracted to women, or they might be attracted to both men and women."

Direct queer socialization was used for all four reasons described above to communicate all four content areas, although primarily cultural socialization and preparation for bias. For example, for the parents who

came out later in life, telling their children about their own sexuality (i.e., "coming out") was a form of direct cultural socialization. Tanesha described how she came out to Siyanda four years ago:

> I just told her I was no longer attracted to men and that since I was eighteen I was interested in having a relationship with a woman. And I was like, "the feeling never went away." And… I just felt like, now my attraction to women was just more what I was feeling… And then I intentionally came out to everybody before I got into a relationship, and so I just wanted them to know, like, this is just me and who I am. It's not tied to anyone. So yeah I just told her that.

Tanesha came out to Siyanda by describing sexual identity as something fluid that changes over time rather than a static trait or something one chooses. Kurt explained his sexuality to his son similarly a year ago: "[My son] knows everything I've gone through… I've told him "yeah this is something I've had to struggle with my whole life and now I feel free to live this way"… I told him very clearly "sexuality is fluid."

Direct mainstream socialization and promotion of mistrust were rare. Kurt was the only parent to engage in direct heteronormative (mainstream) socialization (e.g., calling transgender men "women" and teaching Nolan that men and women are inherently different because of biology). When parents did engage in direct promotion of mistrust, it was because of concern for children's wellbeing or in response to an environmental trigger (but not because of parental or child characteristics). For example, Violet directly promoted mistrust with her son after he asked her about anti-LGBTQ signs in public (environmental characteristic):

> I haven't preemptively prepared them in any way, but they have seen it because we go to the pride parade and there'd be like a big banner of "God hates fags" and you know. Kennedy would be all like 'why do they have that?' and then I would kind of explain then what some people's perceptions of the Bible say and things.

Instead of "preemptively preparing" her son by giving him advice for how to handle this experience before it occurred (i.e., preparation for bias, see above), Violet only addressed religious discrimination when her family encountered it in their environment, and offered no advice to her son for how to deal with this or future encounters with religious hostility.

Queer time management. Parents also teach their children about queer culture as managers of children's social worlds (i.e., controlling what children do, and where and with whom children spend time). Queer time management strategies were used for cultural and mainstream socialization only (not preparation for bias or promotion of mistrust). For example, Kennedy learned about queer culture through exposure to LGBTQ individuals in his mother's social network, as Violet explained:

> Because my own sexual orientation, both my kids kind of grew up knowing a lot of gay and lesbian people… I have this lesbian couple that's very good friends that they were involved in our

> lives already before Kennedy was born because they have adopted children as well… their oldest is Aaron's age, and they're next is Kennedy's age.

Tanesha described bringing her 16-year-old daughter to events related to queer culture:

> I forgot this lady's name…[but] she wrote a book about being a child of a lesbian mom… [the queer parenting group] invited her to meet with us. She talked about her book. Yeah, so Siyanda went… Siyanda got to hear her experiences and what she went through.

Allison taught her son "different ways to be a man" by managing the time he spends with gender role models:

> We've made conscious efforts to make sure he's got guys in his life… And a lot of really wonderful guys have stepped up and said, "I would love to spend more time with your son. He's a great guy, you know." And that's given him a lot of role models. Ya know, different ways to be a man.

Parents also use time management to teach children about queer culture when they purposefully avoid situations in which children may hear negative messages about LGBTQ people. For example, Allison discussed how she and Janet were selective about their son's early childhood activities: "We wouldn't put him the boy scouts because the boy scouts refuse to acknowledge that we were a family."

Queer time management strategies were reported for all four rationales described above, but most frequently because of parental characteristics such as the extent to which parents wanted to be involved in the queer community. For example, Allison rarely used queer time management because she did not want to be involved in the queer community:

> I'm almost not at all [involved in the LGBTQ community]… I don't generally even go to pride or things like that…I haven't for a really long time…for me personally, I don't really seek out other gay people to hang out with or anything like that.

Queer Socialization Summary

In sum, queer socialization among Black and mixed race LGQ parent families takes the form of direct, indirect, and time management strategies aimed at teaching children about queer culture, discrimination toward LGBTQ people, wariness in relationships with heterosexual or socially conservative individuals, or heteronormativity. Queer socialization occurred in these families because of concerns for children's wellbeing, and environmental, parental, and child characteristics. The form, content, and rationale for queer socialization are connected; Table 3 provides a summary of the relationship between content, rationale, and form in order of reported frequency (e.g., indirect queer socialization was reported most often relative to direct or time management). Direct socialization was used for all four of the reasons described above to communicate content related primarily to cultural socialization and preparation for bias. Indirect queer socialization was used for all four reasons described

to communicate content related primarily to cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, and mainstream socialization. Queer time management was used for the same four reasons, but primarily for cultural socialization and because of parental characteristics. Concern for children's wellbeing, environmental characteristics, child characteristics, and parental characteristics were offered as reasons for all four racial socialization content areas. Finally, participants also reported cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and mainstream socialization from individuals outside the family system.

Table 3. *Content, Rationale, and Form of Queer Socialization by Frequency.*

	1. Parental Characteristics	2. Concern for wellbeing	3. Child Characteristics	4. Environmental Characteristics
1. Indirect	• Cultural socialization • Mainstream socialization • Promotion of mistrust • Preparation for bias	• Cultural socialization • Mainstream socialization • Promotion of mistrust • Preparation for bias	• Cultural socialization • Mainstream socialization • Promotion of mistrust •	• Cultural socialization • Mainstream socialization • Promotion of mistrust •
2. Direct	• Cultural socialization • Mainstream socialization • • Preparation for bias	• Cultural socialization • • Promotion of mistrust • Preparation for bias	• Cultural socialization • Mainstream socialization • • Preparation for bias	• • Mainstream socialization • Promotion of mistrust • Preparation for bias
3. Time Management	• Cultural socialization • Mainstream socialization • •	• Cultural socialization • • •	• Cultural socialization • Mainstream socialization • •	• • Mainstream socialization • •

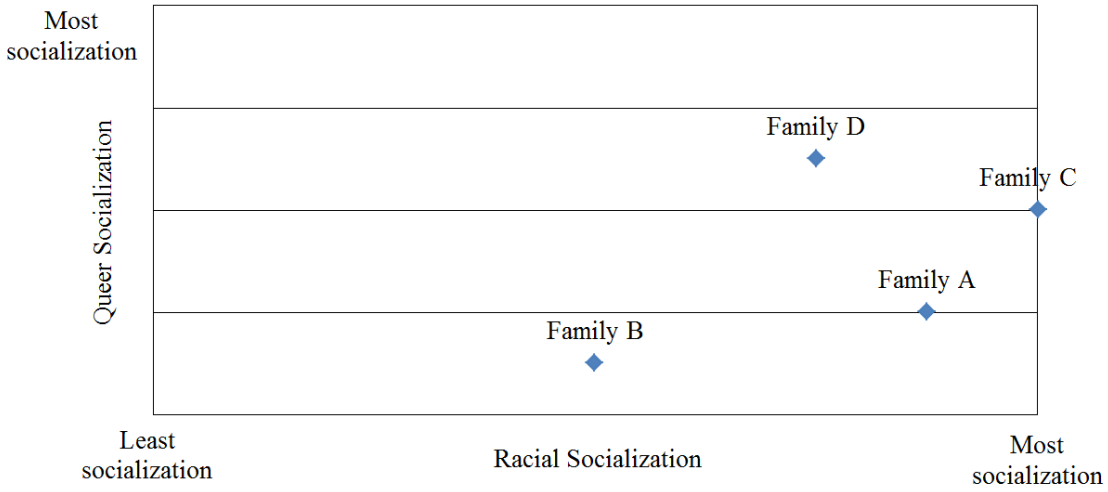
Research Question 5: What is the Relationship Between Racial Socialization and Queer Socialization?

My fifth research question asked about the relationship between racial socialization and queer socialization in Black and mixed race LGQ parent families. I proposed that queer socialization resembles racial socialization in form, rationale, and content. Results support this proposition in that both racial and queer socialization take the form of direct, indirect, and time management strategies, are motivated by factors internal and external to parents and children, and transmit content related to culture, preparation for bias, intergroup wariness, and mainstream ideologies (see above). Results also suggest, however, that racial and queer socialization diverge in significant ways. Specifically, all four families engaged in relatively more racial socialization than queer socialization due to parents' understanding of racism (but

not heteronormativity) as a pressing structural concern. Finally, parents in all four families also discussed multidimensional socialization, which combined issues of race and queerness.

To help think about how these two socialization processes are related, I classified each family in this study in their level of engagement in each process from least to most socialization relative to other families based on the racial and queer socialization processes described above and my overall familiarity with the data (see Figure 1). Mainstream socialization strategies are not included in this assessment because mainstream socialization refers predominantly to avoidance and denial rather than the transmission of content. For example, although there was a great deal of mainstream queer socialization reported in Family B, this family still ranks low on queer socialization overall.

Figure 4. *Relative Racial and Queer Socialization Rankings by Family.*



Family C is ranked highest in terms of racial socialization because Tanesha engages in more racial socialization than the other parents in this study. Tanesha is the most purposeful about teaching her daughter about race, and has made racial socialization a central focus of her parenting and a key aspect of her family's culture. The integration of racial socialization into their family life can be seen in multiple domains. Not only do she and her daughter spend the majority of their time with other Black people (work, school, home, social networks, etc.), but she also sent Siyanda to African centered schools and after school programs, and displays Black art in her home, among other strategies. Even Tanesha's queer networks are within the Black community; the queer parenting group she attends is run by a Black LBGTQ organization. In contrast, Family B is ranked lowest on racial socialization because Kurt engages in the least racial socialization of all the families in this study. He avoids discussing race with Nolan, and does not expose his son to the local Black community or to Black culture in their home. Although he does sometimes speak about race with Nolan, Kurt tends to avoid the subject. Similarly, Family D scored highest in queer socialization because Violet has integrated queer culture into her family more than any other parent. She is extensively involved in the queer community with and without her son, and exposes

him to local queer culture as well as broader queer culture through media and events. Family B scored lowest on queer socialization because as with race, Kurt tends to avoid the subject. When he does address LGBTQ issues, it is largely mainstream queer socialization and queer promotion of mistrust.

Similarities between racial and queer socialization. The processes of racial and queer socialization resemble one another in content, rationale, and form. In terms of content, all four of the proposed content areas suggested by the racial socialization literature were found for racial and queer socialization. Additionally, for both racial and queer socialization, these four content areas were transmitted from sources outside of the parent-child relationship, and cultural socialization was the most common content area. Both racial and queer socialization take the form of direct, indirect, and time management strategies, and time management is the least common form in both cases. Time management may have been the least common form of socialization because teenagers (relative to younger children) are increasingly making their own decisions about how and where to spend their time, and because time management was not directly assessed in interviews. Both processes are motivated by parental characteristics (e.g., identity, past experiences), parent's concern for their children's wellbeing, and characteristics of their children (e.g., personality, preferences). Tables 2 and 3 (above) provide a summary of the relationship between content, rationale, and form for each socialization process.

Differences between racial and queer socialization. There are minor differences in content, rationale, and form between racial and queer socialization processes. Direct socialization was most prevalent for race, while indirect socialization was most prevalent for queer. In terms of rationale, parents were concerned for their children's physical and psychological wellbeing with respect to race, and parents were primarily concerned about children's psychological wellbeing with respect to queer socialization (only one parent was concerned with physical safety relative to queer issues). Parents did not experience external pressure from known others to engage in mainstream racial or queer socialization (although for queer mainstream children did receive heteronormative messages from outside sources like peers and media). With respect to content, heteronormative socialization took place from both parents and outside sources. The equivalent form of racial socialization, colorblind ideologies (Bonilla-Silva, 2014), was not reported in this study.

All four families engaged in more racial socialization than queer socialization. This discrepancy is produced by parents' differential conceptualizations of race, sexuality, and gender in their own and their children's lives. All of the parents in this study considered race to be something visible and legible to others and racism to be a problem that goes beyond individuals' racist beliefs to extend into the structure of society. In contrast, parents in this study considered gender, sexuality, and family to be private and personal concerns that are not always visible to others in society and largely conceptualized heteronormativity as a problem located within individuals, rather than within the structure of society.

Race: public and structural. Parents in this study felt that racial socialization was important for their children because racism is an institutionalized part of U.S. society, as Tanesha described:

> I feel like slavery still affects us [Black people] to this day. And I think that it's generationally still affecting us. And I feel like a lot of us don't know [our own] potential, because we've never seen it personally, or we just feel… apathetic. And we also have a lot of stuff stacked against us, the legal system… just everything, our health, everything is negatively affecting us… But it's just widespread. And I do think [it is] a result of how we came to be here.

Many parents explicitly reported that issues of race were more important in their families than queer issues. All four children in this study are Black. Accordingly, parents felt race was more important because their children are visible as Black to others, and thus race impacts their daily lives and their treatment by others. For example, Janet said that talking about race "certainly is much bigger than the talk about being a lesbian parent…I am going to guess that he is treated differently because he is a big, Black male more than he is treated differently because he has two moms." Similarly, Violet reported that discrimination her family has experienced "has probably more to do with being a different race than my kids, than with [my] sexuality." Black parents reported more discrimination related to their race than their sexuality, which was another reason why race was a more important topic to address with their children, as Tanesha described: "I've been fighting causes for Black women longer than I've been fighting [for] LGBT stuff. And I don't really even fight for that, and I guess that's the thing."

Thus, parents feel it is more important to socialize their children about race, given their awareness of the broader structure of US society. Notably, this belief was shared among parents, regardless of the racial differences that existed between parents and their children. In other words, even White parents who do not have personal experiences with racism, and find some forms of racial socialization inappropriate (e.g., AAVE, participating in African focused groups) felt that racial socialization was important. Regardless of racial differences, all parents thought race was more important to their Black children than was the parents' sexuality, and thus they engaged in relatively more racial socialization than queer socialization.

Queerness: private and individual. Parents believed that queer socialization was less important because they did not identify heteronormativity as a structural problem that was likely to affect their children's lives. Only two children are gender/sexual minorities. Unlike with race, parents did not believe that their sexual orientation was as identifiable or known to others, and did not believe that it would impact their children. For example, Sandra said: "it's always been more important to talk about relationships and problems he could have as an African American… nobody's endangering [Aden] by virtue of his relationship with lesbians." They believed their sexual orientation was a private matter, and that people interacting with their child would not know that they had an LGQ parent. However, parents

with gender or sexual minority children (Families C and D) did believe that queer socialization was relevant because heterosexism could affect their child as an individual:

> I guess I'm more, like I said, more reactive, and like, [Siyanda has] dealt with adults being mean to her based on [her sexual orientation]. So that's a conversation that we've had that was personal. So, I guess it's more like, unless it hits home… I don't really talk about it as much. But when things are specific to something that either I've experienced or they have, then I feel like I address it.

The belief that queer socialization is less important than racial socialization is also demonstrated by the fact that participants in this study generally felt that LGQ parent families are more similar to heterosexual parent families than different. Janet said: "I don't think we're all that different from other families." Allison explained that she relates to heterosexual parents in many ways:

> You can totally stand on the playground and relate to the other parents about "Oh my God, then there's soccer, and then swimming season coming up what are we gonna do?" You know, and "Oh, does your kid insist on eating nothing but macaroni too?" (Laughs) "Have you found any ways to get him to eat peas?" You know, all of that kind of stuff is totally… the American lifestyle. Right? Um… you know and that's when you make jokes about, you know, "here we are, we're living the queer lifestyle and it's really horrible isn't it," because we had a little… not precisely picket fence house, but we've got two dogs and a kid in school, and what do I worry about? Dinner."

Tanesha noted that there may be differences between heterosexual and LGQ parent families, but still believed that her family is basically the same as heterosexual parent families: "I think that [we] might be different. But then I also think that our family is the same, we like to do things together and hang out... That's just being human." Similarly, Kurt admitted there are differences, but in a way that painted LGBT parent families as undesirable:

> I think the LGBT issue certainly makes [us] different because of being LGBT is not a norm. It looks normal because the numbers are there, but it's relatively much smaller than the straight community. So, I always compare it to the redheads. It looks normal, but it doesn't change the fact that genetically it's a mutation. There's no way you can get away from the fact that genetically… it is a mutation.

While Violet did reiterate the sentiments above, she also noted that queer parent families are different from heterosexual parent families in significant ways. However, she still reported these differences within the framework of queerness as a personal choice:

> I think that being queer allows individuals and families to kind of write their own rules and decide what works for them. And that for straight families, there seem to be more preset models

> that you are supposed to stay in line with… I think that being in a queer family can be more work because you're kind of setting your own patterns. And yet, at the same time that it's more work, it's more freeing because you can decide what patterns or practices work best for you, without having to feel pressured into certain sorts of expectations.

Thus, because parents are not thinking about structural heteronormativity, queer socialization is only important to them if their child is also a gender/sexual minority who would experience queer based discrimination personally.

Multidimensional socialization. Parents in all four families also occasionally combined racial and queer socialization, sometimes including other topics such as politics, class, and religion. For example, Janet discussed generational differences in the experience she and her wife have had as lesbians and how their experiences as White women might be similar to the experiences of racial minorities:

> We've talked with Aden in terms of sexuality… Sandra and I have talked about you know, pre-Stonewall life and Sandra's experience growing up in a pre-Stonewall world and being you know, chased by people and threatened by people and beaten up and that kind of thing…we've been having these conversations more as Aden's been getting older and we have often kind of looped them into, you know, it's very similar to racist behavior. You know, someone sees something they don't like, they don't understand, they don't respect, and they turn against you.

Conversations that dealt with broader concerns such as politics and religion were also reported. For example, during a conversation with Nolan about how his father had taught him about race, Nolan said: "It wasn't just race we were talking about. It was about gender, politics and religion and stuff like that… and how it plays a role in all societies and all that stuff." Similarly, Tanesha discussed conversations she had with Siyanda about gender and religion because of her ex-husband's involvement in the Nation of Islam:

> I try to just speak on things in a matter of fact way…we've talked about the patriarchy of that religion, as far as like, how they really feel, like, it's certain roles that men should play and women shouldn't… we've talked about the way she's expected to dress when she goes to the mosque.

Thus, parents were aware of the ways that race and queerness may be related. However, these conversations were infrequently reported. Parent's perceptions about the structural or individual nature of race and queerness as well as their desire and ability to integrate these discussions with children may also be related to their identities and the neighborhood contexts that frame their lives.

Research Question 6: The Influence of Identity and Context

My sixth research question asked how racial socialization and queer socialization are shaped by parents' identity salience and characteristics of their residential communities. I proposed that LGQ

parents in Black and mixed race families would use queer socialization to help their children deal with heterosexism, specifically when there are high levels of parental sexual orientation identity salience, participation in and attachment to the LGBTQ community, and perceived or actual victimization. In addition to these community level variables, the size of each family's community also influenced queer socialization.

Identity salience. All four parents in this study reported moderate to high sexual orientation identity salience on a scale of 1 (not important at all) to 5 (extremely important; results in Table 4).

Table 4. *Parental and Child Identity Salience by Family.*

Family A			Family B		
	Race	Sexuality		Race	Sexuality
Janet	1	4	Kurt	2	4
Sandra	2	5	Nolan	3	3
Allison	3	3			
Aden	5	5			
Family C			Family D		
	Race	Sexuality		Race	Sexuality
Tanesha	5	4	Violet	3	4
Siyanda	5	3	Kennedy	4	4

Note. Parents were asked, "How important or central is your race/sexual orientation to you?" on a scale from 1-5

Contrary to my proposition, parental sexual orientation identity salience was not related to the level of engagement in queer socialization for all of the families in this study. Parental sexual orientation identity salience only co-occurred with high engagement in queer socialization when their child also identified as non-heterosexual (Families C and D). In families with heterosexual identified children (Families A and B), high parental sexual orientation identity salience did not co-occur with high engagement in queer socialization.

Parents were also asked to rank the salience of their race on a scale of 1 (not important at all) to 5 (extremely important). Three out of four parents reported moderate to low racial identity salience (see Table 4). Racial socialization was related to parent's racial identity salience for Black parents and racial awareness for White parents. Within the Black families, race was meaningful to parents and children in a shared way that was different from the families with White parents and Black children. However, Kurt had low racial identity salience and Tanesha had extremely high racial identity salience, and this difference influenced the racial socialization in their families. For Tanesha, understanding and celebrating her Blackness was extremely important to her because "the difference of knowing who you are as

opposed to not, it just changes who you are as a person. So that's why it was important to me to… feel proud of that part of who I am." Her racial pride and the salience of her racial identity lead her to engage in more racial socialization than any of the other families in this study. Conversely, Kurt had low racial identity salience:

> The reason why I said race wasn't critically important was because growing up, there was a…desperation. Like when I first moved here in the 8th grade and I was obviously a minority in every room… there was such a desperation to just be. Just exist and be who I am and not think of race… I didn't think of my color all the time. Do you understand? I just wanted to just be… and exist. And that's how I actually think for the MOST part. There are sometimes, like I said, everyday you're reminded, I'm reminded of my status. I have little status in this world… So, it's just not something that I concentrate on a lot, because… I think deep in my heart, I think I have regretted… since I was a kid, that I couldn't be White just to fit in… the only thing I was concerned about [was] coming through school was just being. And being Black was more of a problem than it was helpful.

Kurt's desire to avoid thinking about his Blackness meant that his racial identity salience and his engagement in racial socialization were both low.

For the White parents, their racial identity as White was not particularly important to them as individuals, although issues of race were salient in their families because they had Black children. When I asked her to talk about why her race is important to her, Allison summed up what the other White parents also articulated:

> [The questionnaire was] asking me how I feel about MY race… I work in racism, eliminating racism… and my current partner is Black… I feel actually a little more connected with some elements of the Black community than I do with the White community. I don't feel any special bond with White people. I feel a special bond with people who are working against racism with me… White people, we gotta be really aware of who we are and what we're doing and racism. So I was like, "yeah, I do have to say that yes, my race is actually important to me" and not important in the sense of… ya know, "White power," but important in the sense of this is part of who I am and how I exist in the community and certainly a part of how I be a mom to Aden.

Although these parents were White, having a Black child made them aware of racial issues and was related to relatively high engagement in racial socialization.

Community attachment and participation. Parents reported queer community attachment on questionnaires and discussed it during interviews. Racial community attachment was reported on questionnaires and interviews, and racial community participation was reported in interviews only. I combined these various sources of data into one ranking system: attachment is rated on a scale of weak

(1) to strong (5), and participation is rated on a scale from extremely low to extremely high (see Table 5). Participation in and attachment to both the LGBTQ community and the racial community were related to queer socialization in the proposed direction. That is, families with higher levels of racial/queer community attachment and participation also engaged in relatively more racial/queer socialization.

Table 5. *Black Community and Queer Community Attachment and Participation by Family.*

	Family A	Family B	Family C	Family D
Queer community participation	Low	Extremely Low	Moderate	High
Black community participation	Moderate	Extremely Low	Extremely High	Moderate
Queer community attachment (1-5)	Janet: strong (4) Sandra: strong (4) Allison: neutral (3)	neutral (3)	strong (4)	strong (4)
Racial community attachment (1-5)	Janet: neutral (3) Sandra: neutral (3) Allison: strong (4)	weak (2)	strong (4)	strong (4)

Note. Attachment scores are the average of 3 items that were each rated 1-5; shown in parentheses were applicable.

Families with lower participation and attachment to the LGBTQ community (Families A and B) also participated in relatively less queer socialization than families with higher participation and attachment (families C and D). For example, when I asked Janet (Family A) how involved her family was in the LGBTQ community she said: "I mean we certainly have friends but as a community… no, not really… we've attended a pride festival, one or two, but not regularly. Not consistently." Kurt had a similar response to the same question: "Eh. I'm not. Other than going every once and awhile to [Dan's] church…[which is] extremely supportive of the gay community." Violet's involvement in the queer community is extensive by comparison:

> I did help with that hosting committee [for the LGBTQ conference]. That was really nice to get involved in…as part of that group, we marched in the Pride parade and passed out flyers and stuff about the conference…I go to The Feminist Bookstore, and they often have meetings, and I go to those, and I go to some events at Metropolis Pride Center, I try to stay up on what's happening…I was a member for a couple of years, of a group called Pride at Work, which is a national labor group that is specifically LGBT.

Similarly, Kurt (Family B) had low attachment and participation to the local Black community and low racial socialization compared to the other three families (Families A, C, and D) in which attachment, participation, and racial socialization were higher. When asked how involved he was in the Black community, for example, Kurt said: "Not at all. Because um… where are they?" In contrast, involvement with the Black community is a central feature Tanesha and her family's life:

> Like, anything that we were gonna be involved in, if they had a Black version of it, that's the one that we were gonna be involved in… because I taught at the [African centered] school, it was always something going on for families, it's very family-oriented organization where I used to work. And so, we would do things at the school or in the community, drum circles, and poetry stuff and meet up stuff, and a lot of stuff around Kwanzaa… [we've been doing those things] pretty much all my children's lives.

Victimization. Victimization was not addressed directly on questionnaires, but participants were asked to describe the climate toward LGBTQ people and people of color in their residential neighborhoods as hostile, tolerant, or supportive. In this study, community climate ranking is used as a proxy for victimization in conjunction with participants' reports of discrimination during interviews. In other words, a climate that is hostile toward LGBTQ people would be one in which LGBTQ-related victimization and discrimination often occurs. I proposed that socialization would increase if victimization were high (i.e., in hostile neighborhoods). No one in this study lived in a community that they perceived to be hostile toward LGBTQ individuals or people of color, however, more socialization occurred in supportive communities compared to tolerant communities.

Two families lived in residential neighborhoods rated as tolerant (one metropolitan, one non-metropolitan) and two in neighborhoods rated supportive (one metropolitan, one non-metropolitan). In interviews, all four teens reported hearing anti-LGBTQ language from peers at school, and all four parents reported experiencing sexual orientation or gender related discrimination, from physical assault, being shunned or losing friends, to overhearing heteronormative talk. The highest queer socialization occurred in a metropolitan neighborhood rated as supportive of LGBTQ individuals that was rich in LGBTQ resources, and the lowest queer socialization occurred in a non-metropolitan neighborhood rated as tolerant of LGBTQ individuals that had almost no LGBTQ resources. When there is relatively less victimization and discrimination in the environment (supportive community climate), parents may not only feel more comfortable engaging in queer socialization, but will likely have increased opportunities to do so. On the other hand, some participants reported that the experience of discrimination prompted queer socialization that may otherwise not have happened, as Tanesha reported: "I'm more reactive… So that's why I guess I don't really talk about it as much. But when things are specific to something that either I've experienced or they have, then I feel like I address it."

Similarly, none of the participants in this study rated their neighborhood as hostile toward people of color. The majority of residential communities in this study were rated as tolerant (Families A, B, and D). Tanesha rated her predominantly Black metropolitan neighborhood as supportive, and Sandra rated her predominantly White non-metropolitan neighborhood as supportive (although her wife, Janet, rated the same community as tolerant). All four teens reported experiences with race-based discrimination at school, such as being accused of acting or talking "White" or being called derogatory names, and both of the Black parents also reported experiences with racial discrimination in their communities. The White parents in this study were aware of the racial discrimination their children had experienced, and had personally experienced discrimination related to the racial difference between themselves and their children. For example, Violet discussed an experience she had when Kennedy was younger:

> I mean, we would just get a lot attention. It would be me and one or two Black kids that I'm holding their hand or they're in my kiddie backpack or whatever it is. You know, and when they were real little I was worried because people would actually come up to me and say, "Oh, did you get one of those coke babies," or stuff like that or "Are you a foster mom to those welfare kids," and stuff.

The highest levels of racial socialization occurred in a metropolitan neighborhood rated supportive of people of color, and the lowest levels of racial socialization occurred in a non-metropolitan neighborhood rated tolerant. Thus, in neighborhoods where people of color are supported, parents may be more comfortable engaging in racial socialization and may also have more resources available to sustain their racial socialization efforts.

Community size. The size of each family's community also influenced the relationship between identity salience, community context, and the amount and extent of their queer socialization. Notably, the two families that live in a non-metropolitan town with fewer LGBTQ resources were the families in which parents had the lowest sexual orientation identity salience and engaged in the least queer socialization. The direction of this relationship is unclear from this data alone; that is, perhaps parents with low sexual orientation identity choose to live in neighborhoods with fewer LGBTQ resources because their identities are less important, or they do not feel a need to participate in queer culture. For example, Janet felt that her "lack of gay culture" and integration into her non-metropolitan town was a sign of success:

> I think that for a lot of people [queer culture] is a way to feel like you're part of a group when you feel like you are other to society on the whole. I think that it's often a thing that people turn to when they feel like they're an outsider… I think it happens a lot with people who are just coming out who are afraid that they might not have a good support network. Um… I think that if my situation was different, I could see it being a real important thing to me, but I do lead a really

> charmed life… so for me I feel like my lack of gay culture is a testament to how good my life is. That I feel really integrated with my community.

It may also be that individual's identities become less important over time when their sexual orientation is not valued and supported in their communities.

Attachment and participation in the LGBTQ community is also split by geography – higher participation, attachment, and queer socialization occurred in the metropolitan city compared to the non-metropolitan town. For example, Allison said she used to be involved with the broader queer community by traveling to large cities like Metropolis, but she is no longer engaged in that way and is now not sure whether queer culture even exists:

> I feel like I know what people are saying when they're saying that [queer culture exists], but I also feel like it's just something kind of artificial about that… or that it's like, a club scene kind of thing… which I was never really part of anyhow… and so whatever it is, it's not something that I understand or am too close to.

Community resources may also play a role in individual's participation in their communities. Families living in the non-metropolitan area may desire to be more involved in the LGBTQ community, like Kurt who said "I wouldn't mind experiencing more of [queer culture]. It's just that I don't live in a large city." Unfortunately, there are no opportunities to be involved in the queer community in Kurt's town. Conversely, parents living in Metropolis reported that queer culture was real, and participated in it more frequently. Tanesha said: "I do think it is a culture in itself because, my friend is like, "I'm so sick of doing straight stuff, I need to do something gay." You know, and so it's like, it is a thing, you know."

Research Question 7: How Do Children Perceive and Respond to Parental Socialization?

My final research question asked how children in Black and mixed race LGQ parent families respond to parents' socialization related to race, gender, sexuality, and family. Children were not asked directly about their perceptions of parental socialization practices, as it is unlikely that adolescents are aware of their parents' overarching goals for their parenting due to their egocentric stage of development (Elkind, 1976). Instead, the outcomes reported here are my interpretation of the experiences children (and sometimes parents) reported in their interviews and questionnaires, as well as my observations of each family. I first discuss children's responses to racial socialization and queer socialization practices broadly, before reporting two other ways children respond to socialization: children's beliefs and personality, and boundary management.

Responses to racial socialization. Levels of racial socialization were less variable in this study than queer socialization, with three out of four families reporting high levels of racial socialization and one parent with moderate levels of racial socialization. Accordingly, children in this study responded similarly to parents' racial socialization efforts. Teenagers in this study were taught to be proud of their race. When I asked Siyanda why her race was the most important identity to her, for example, she said:

> It's because of, like, growing up. That's how, like, I guess how I was raised. Like, that should be important. Especially for my school. My school and my family… embracing that and, like, knowing that some Black people wish they weren't Black makes me feel even worse because you shouldn't feel that way.

Similarly, Aden said: "I just feel that it's important to… feel good about your race. I feel like you should feel proud about whatever ethnicity you happen to be. Whether it's Black, White, Asian, or anything else." These teens were also knowledgeable about many issues in the Black community, including institutionalized racism, racially biased policing, and religious bigotry. Nolan said:

> As a Black man, I have endured racism once or twice, but nothing too major, but I still feel that it is important to acknowledge that African Americans were discriminated [against] for a long time. And that's really important to me because I had to endure that.

All four teens were aware of the many publicized reports of anti-Black policing, and reported negative feelings toward the police. For example, Kennedy said:

> I know there's like good police officers, like, in the group, but the majority of them, they abuse their power and they have the blue code of silence or something. I forgot [what it's called] specifically but it's more like at one of the shootings of the teenagers, I forgot which one, but there's a few cops there, but the one said one side of the story and it wasn't true and they all had to honor that code within, like, the police officers. So they all had to lie about what actually happened... just because they're cops they think they can do what they want.

Siyanda also felt scared and uncertain about the police given recent incidents in the media, despite the fact that her mother's fiancé, Tori, is a Metropolis police officer:

> One thing that I really try to not put myself around is the police. I only … have to be around a police when needed. Like, if there's a group of police I'll probably walk on the opposite side of the street. Because with the things that are going on right now which is... I don't feel safe… I try to talk to my mom about it, but you know, her girlfriend is a cop. So… she is more lenient... I feel like if Tori wasn't a cop she would feel the same. But since she is she is just like, "They're all not bad and stuff." And it's like, yeah, that's true. Like, I know that they're all not bad but it is just like... you can't be too sure that they're good or not. Unless you know them personally... Which is horrible because some, most of them are cool people, but they just made a bad rep for themselves.

All four teens linked homophobia in the Black community to religion. Aden summed up what all of the teens when he said that religion is "the reason why a lot of people are homophobic." Similarly, when I asked Nolan about homophobia in the Black community, he said:

> All I know from where I've seen, it's just a big problem because some Black people do make a deal out of [being gay] for some reason. I think it's because of religious ideals because there are a lot of Black people who are religious and stuff like that.

Kennedy felt as though religiously based homophobia was often transmitted in families, meaning that even Black teenagers his age often had anti-LGBTQ beliefs. However, he was careful to note that the issue was not isolated to the Black community:

> Some Black people tend to be, like, really religious and put all their faith into God and stuff. It's more common for youth to like… to box themselves in like something that they're not because of their family. It's not… like, it's a problem but it's not just within the Black community. It's just, like, with people… not all religious people [are homophobic] but it tends to stem from religion and like what the Bible says.

Teens in the two mixed race families (A and D) had also learned to ignore or brush off discrimination related to racial difference between themselves and their White mothers. For example, Kennedy described how he learned that people's assumptions about his family were based on ignorance:

> I've known to like just accept even though, like, my family's White and I'm not. I just became like accustomed to that I guess… It used to [bother me], I guess, like, just when people wouldn't believe that she was my mom and stuff, but by the time I was like, 11 maybe… they just didn't understand it, and like, it's not really their fault.

Aden had a similar response to others' assumptions about his relatedness to his mothers: "I don't think they always assume that they're my parents. Maybe like friends, or something… [But] I don't care. Like, that's just my guess… if that's what they feel comfortable thinking, then I see no reason why they shouldn't."

Responses to queer socialization. Queer socialization ranged from very little to relatively high, and children's responses to parents' queer socialization efforts were also variable. The main difference between families with higher and lower levels of queer socialization is that in families with relatively higher queer socialization, children were culturally queer and defiant in the face of anti-LGBTQ discrimination (Kuvalanka, Leslie, & Radina, 2013). In families with relatively lower queer socialization, children were not culturally queer, were less knowledgeable about queer culture, and detached in the face of LGBTQ discrimination (Kuvalanka, et al., 2013).

In Families C and D, both teenagers identified as non-heterosexual and queer socialization was relatively higher than the other two families in this study. More queer socialization, and their own queer

identities lead Siyanda and Kennedy to be culturally queer (Garner, 2004) and outspoken advocates for LGBTQ people. Kuvalanka and colleagues (2013) found that teenagers respond to LGBTQ related discrimination in one of three ways: fearful, defiant, or detached. Siyanda and Kennedy would be classified as defiant, "in that they [do] not allow sexual stigma to push them "in the closet" – in fact, they [push] back against it" (Kuvalanka, et al., 2013, p. 19). Both of these teens were open about their family structure and their own sexuality with their peers and/or on social media. Siyanda and Kennedy also participate in LGBTQ groups and attend LGBTQ related events (e.g., Pride parades, GSA meetings) with and without their parents. When I met Kennedy for his second interview, for example, he was wearing a purple t-shirt with a rainbow flag design in support of a local LGBTQ organization where he volunteers. Both teens talked about intervening with peers at school who used anti-LGBTQ language. For example, Kennedy said:

> Depending on the person, I'll correct them. Like, if I know... of the person and know they won't like do anything to me, then I'll correct them… .[I'll] be like, that term, the way you're using it is derogatory and you shouldn't use it in [that way].

Similarly, Siyanda said:

> I don't say much but I do say something. I'd just be like, "You don't have to do all of that, chill." Or I'd just like, look at them and ignore them and they would just, like, get the message from that. Like, I don't really have to go out of my way because they know what they said is wrong especially if I just ignore them.

Siyanda and Kennedy were also very knowledgeable about queer culture. They thought critically about gender and sexuality and conceptualized both on a flexible spectrum. For example, Kennedy discussed the differences between various sexual orientation labels: "But [identifying as gay or lesbian is] still boxed in, like, [lesbian] means that you only can like girls but queers, you can like trans people or female identified, a male identified. Like anybody on the spectrum really." Siyanda presents her gender in a very fluid way; some days she presents extremely feminine and others she presents more traditionally masculine. Her gender presentation and her beliefs about gender turned her away from the Islamic tradition she was raised in because she disliked the traditional gender roles prescribed by that Nation of Islam:

> They're really big on their gender role type stuff…Yeah, but even when I was younger I didn't like it because they were so judgmental. And I learned that they were judgmental when I was really young and… growing up I stopped coming around because I didn't wear the type of stuff that they wear. Like, I wouldn't be… "fully clothed." And they didn't like that and I didn't like that they were judging me.

In contrast, the children in families with less queer socialization (Families A and B) were not culturally queer, were less knowledgeable about queer culture, and would be classified as detached in response to LGBTQ related discrimination (Kuvalanka, et al., 2013) because they ignored the anti-LGBTQ behaviors they witnessed and did not believe this type of discrimination affected their lives. When asked if he felt like a part of the queer community, Aden said:

> Not really. I got no problem with it. I don't condone people who, like, are against it. I'm not part of that community, but I do feel like I support it… I don't really have a place. I'm not really in it. I'm none of those things [LGBTQ]. I mean, my only connection to it is my parents. So… THEY'RE in it. I'm not.

Not only did Aden feel disconnected from the queer community, but he also did not feel the need to advocate for queer people at school; both Aden and Nolan reported ignoring the anti-LGBTQ language that they hear at school (e.g., "that's so gay").

Nolan experienced the least queer socialization in the sample, and had almost no knowledge of queer culture. For example, his thinking about gender is extremely binary, and he does not fully understand the difference between gender and sexuality. When I asked him direct questions about sexuality, Nolan often responded by talking about gender. Nolan also knew very little about transgender issues; he referred to transgender people as "transgendered" or "transgenders" and defined transgender as: "whoever has the surgery. Like…Caitlyn Jenner/Bruce Jenner…but another thing that I can see what identifies a transgender is that they want to BE the opposite sex or that, you know, that they're opposite sex." Nolan's definition of transgender further demonstrates his understanding of gender as a binary construct. Aden was also relatively less knowledgeable about queer culture than Siyanda and Kennedy. Although he seemed to have some understanding of gender and sexuality, he was not familiar with more nuanced differences within the queer community. During our first conversation together, for example, Aden asked me what the word "queer" meant. Similarly, Nolan asked me what the "Q" in LGBTQ stood for during one of our conversations. Neither of these teens was involved with any LGBTQ related groups or organizations at their schools or in the community. Aden did not know whether his school had a gay straight alliance (GSA): "I don't know if there is [a GSA at my high school]. There might be. I know there was one in middle school so it's certainly a possibility that there is." I later confirmed that there is an active GSA at Aden's school, and also at Nolan's.

However, the four teens in this study also had a response in common. All four teens felt that their LGQ parent family was similar to heterosexual parent families. When I asked how their family was similar or different from families with straight parents, Aden said: "it's different [because] there's two people of the same gender, but other than that, I'd say it's about the same as any other nuclear family." Siyanda said: "I honestly don't think it's that much of a difference. Like, the love is all still there… yeah, I

don't really find it that much of a difference." Kennedy said: "It's just the same as having a non-queer parent I guess." Nolan was not as sure as the other teens, but he said: "I'm leaning more towards yes, they're [the] same, because they have to deal with their kids mess… and the kid has to deal with their parents' mess and all the family has issues. But still people are people."

Children's beliefs and personality. Children with LGQ parents in this study described themselves as non-religious, accepting, and authentic individuals. Teenager's religious beliefs matched with their parents; three out of four teens were agnostic or atheist like their parents, and Siyanda, like her mother Tanesha, described herself as "more spiritual than religious." Teens in this study described themselves as accepting and open-minded people. For example, Kennedy told me that "if you have a LGBT parent or like family members you learn at a young age and you can accept anything or everything really."

When I asked Violet about the differences between queer and heterosexual parent families, she said that because queer parent families are "not as rule governed as some other kinds of nuclear families" children are "stronger as individuals, in some way. Kind of like they've had a little more freedom to shape themselves." The teenagers in this study supported Violet's assertion in that they each felt that their parents supported them in being and becoming their authentic self. For example, Nolan said: "I'm…my own man. I do whatever I want to do and yeah, that's basically me." Their sense of authenticity stems from the feeling that their parent(s) support them no matter what. For example, Siyanda described her sexuality and her relationship with her mother:

> I feel like it's really, like, no one can explain [my sexual orientation] for me. Just be me being me. I usually don't even say bisexual. I usually just say I'm me. Like, the whole no label type of thing without not labeling it a no label, you know?... And my mom… she's just, like… it's crazy how supportive she is… And, like, she knows everything, literally. Not everything but mainly everything that happens in my life.

All of the teens in this study reported being satisfied with their life (see Table 6); Siyanda scored lowest on life satisfaction with a "slightly below average" score (Diener, 2006, p.1). Kennedy was the only teen who reported clinically significant levels of depression. His mother, Violet, noted that he had a history of suicidal ideation leading up to his transition and was currently seeing a therapist.

Table 6. *Life Satisfaction and Depression Among Teenagers in Black and Mixed Race LGQ Parent Families.*

	Aden	Nolan	Siyanda	Kennedy
Life Satisfaction (SWLS; 5-35)	35 (highly satisfied)	22 (average)	18 (slightly below average)	21 (average)
Depression (CES-D; 0-60)	5	14*	8	18***

Note. Recommended SWLS interpretations are shown in parentheses next to each numerical score (Diener, 2006)

*CES-D scores between 11-15 are considered clinically significant

***CES-D scores of 16 or higher are considered clinically depressed

Managing boundaries between home and school. Teenagers in this study varied in how "out" they were about having LGQ parent(s), and had different approaches to managing the boundary between their lives at home and their lives at school. The boundaries they created ranged from rigidly separate (Aden, Family A) to extremely fluid (Siyanda, Family C), with the remaining two teens (Nolan, Family B, and Kennedy, Family D) falling somewhere in between. Aden was not out about having lesbian mothers to anyone at school and never invited friends over. In fact, as noted above, he often lied to make it appear to his peers that he did not have lesbian mothers. Aden said:

> People at school… my friends and stuff don't know… Never told them. [Talking about having lesbian moms] it's just… not something that I feel is important really I mean… lots of families aren't your typical nuclear family. Ya know, you got single parents, gay parents, stuff like that I mean... I don't know.

Nolan and Kennedy were slightly more open about their parents than Aden, but still did not talk about their families often at school. They each said that they do not purposely avoid the topic, but also do not intentionally bring it up with peers, as Nolan explained: "it's not that I try not to avoid it, I just don't talk about it." Although Nolan's friends know that his parents are divorced and that he used to be a Jehovah's Witness, they do not know that it is because his father is gay. Nolan said: "I just try and avoid talking about my…. About my family [at school]." Kennedy is open about being transgender and queer with friends at school, with teachers, and on social media, but he rarely discusses his mother's queer identity. For him, the racial difference between him and his mother was more salient:

> I don't think anybody even really knows that my mom's queer or whatever…I mean people know about me, but they don't like say anything really… I don't know. I don't think [they know about my mom]. I don't talk about her sexuality. It's not my story to tell really…I don't know. People

> don't ever really ask. If they don't ask, I won't say anything... she's queer but I don't think about it. I don't know. It doesn't process with me in the time or at the time. People just know my mom's White and I'm not. It's just the thing.

Nolan told me that he envisioned a time in the near future in which he would speak openly about his dad's sexual orientation. However, for now he feared that if people knew that his dad was gay, they would make assumptions about his sexual orientation: "Just because my dad's gay doesn't mean that I'm gay…but there will probably be some people, who might look at me weird because I have a gay dad." In contrast, Siyanda talks openly with her friends at school about having a lesbian mother:

> My friends know [that my mom is gay]… People at my school think it's so nice… Freshman year when I tell people [that I am bisexual] because when I came out freshman year everybody was like, "Your mama gon' kill you." I was like, "My mama's gay too." And then they would be like, "That's so cool! Oh!"

Importantly, all four teens were personally supportive of LGBTQ people, even if they did speak about these opinions openly outside of their families. For example, Nolan said:

> [The Jehovah's Witnesses] try and discourage being gay. Yeah, they heavily discouraged being gay or else you'll be kicked out, which… I call bull, complete bull, because if you're denying a person's [sexual] preference than that means you're denying them as a person… I'm pro-LGBTQ. People should just do what they want. And don't treat anybody any differently…I try not to treat anybody any differently just because of who they are.

Similarly, Aden said: "I got no problem with [the queer community]. I don't condone people who are against it… I'm not part of that community, but I do feel like I support it." Thus, these teens had internalized positive messages about queer culture, regardless of their style of boundary management.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This embedded multiple case study investigated the ways that parents and teenagers in Black and mixed race LGQ parent families negotiate race, gender, sexuality, and family through racial and queer socialization. Analyzing issues of race and sexual orientation within the same study extends our understanding of the ways these two statuses interact and influence parenting processes. Results indicate that parents engage in racial and queer socialization via direct, indirect, and time management strategies due to concern for children's wellbeing, and other intra- and interpersonal factors. The processes of racial and queer socialization resemble one another in form, content, and rationale, but parents vary in their level of engagement with each process as a function of its perceived relevance to their child, and the resources in their environment. Teenagers respond to parents' socialization efforts through their internalized beliefs and personality, as well as the ways they choose to manage the boundary between their homes and school. In this chapter, I evaluate the results of the current study as they relate to existing research on racial socialization and LG parent families, and discuss the implications and limitations of the findings that I presented in Chapter 5.

We know that LGQ parents are increasingly more visible in the US and elsewhere, and that these families face unique challenges. Research should reflect this reality, and their daily lives should be examined in detail. The current body of literature on LGQ parents does not reflect the reality that LGQ people of color are more likely to be parenting than their White counterparts. Furthermore, the existing body of literature on racial socialization does not take into account the fact that LGQ individuals are also parents. This study is important because it helps address the relative dearth of research on Black and mixed race LGQ parent families. The lived experiences of these families interrupt the narrative that the meaning of family is homogeneity. They have different races, sexual orientations, and gender identities, but the parents and teenagers in the current study took part in many practices that helped them create, negotiate, and maintain their familial bond. The inclusion of the teenagers of LGQ parents is another important contribution of the current study. This project gives voice to an understudied population within the literature on LGBTQ parent families, which has relied predominantly on retrospective reports from adults with LGBTQ parents and self-reports from LGBTQ parents of young children.

Previous research has demonstrated that LGQ individuals not only face significant barriers to becoming parents (e.g. discrimination in surrogacy, fertility, or adoption agencies), but also face challenges as sexual minority parents interacting with the surrounding environment (e.g. with families of origin, children's schools, medical professionals). In order to best serve the needs of LGQ parent families and make their work more effective, service providers (e.g., social workers, child care providers, physical and mental health professionals, assisted reproduction agencies) need to better understand their lives, including both their strengths and challenges. The results of this study suggest several avenues for

practitioners working with children in LGQ parent families. Racial socialization has been linked to various positive outcomes for children, and understanding why (or why not) parents' are engaging in racial socialization may be useful for practitioners who seek to increase or modify parents' socialization efforts. Although much more research is needed, results of the current study suggest that queer socialization does resemble racial socialization in many ways. Thus, queer socialization may have a similarly positive effect on children in LGBTQ parent families. Understanding the what, how, and why of queer socialization is the first step to fully understanding the process and utilizing it to improve the lives of LGBTQ parent families.

My findings relative to the content, form, and rational of racial socialization within LGQ parent families (research questions 1 and 2) support and extend the existing research on racial socialization. Results are in line with previous research that suggests there are four main content areas of racial socialization, with cultural socialization being the most frequently reported and strongly endorsed by participants. These findings are important because they expand extant knowledge by including parents who are LGQ identified. Furthermore, in their 2006 review, Hughes and colleagues call for research that addresses the bidirectional nature of racial socialization by including the perceptions of both parents and children. They also call for the use of observational methods and encourage researchers to address racial socialization as it relates to other parenting processes. This study answers their call by including teenagers and their parents in a study of racial socialization that also addresses queer socialization. Additionally, this study builds on the existing racial socialization literature by addressing the reasons why parents engage in racial socialization. Understanding parents' reasons for engaging in racial socialization is crucial to fully understanding racial socialization as a process and distinguishing it from other parenting processes.

Findings regarding the proposed process of queer socialization (research questions 3 and 4) support and extend the limited research on socialization in LG parent families. In terms of queer socialization content, only cultural socialization and preparation for bias have been addressed in the existing literature. Farr and colleagues (Oakley, Farr, & Sherer, 2016) and Goldberg and colleagues (Goldberg, Sweeney, Black, & Moyer, 2016) have found similar results in those two content areas, although this study is the first to name these practices queer socialization. (Oakley, et al., 2016, use the term "same-sex parent socialization" and Goldberg, et al., 2016, use "socialization to children's minority statuses"). Adoptive LG parents in both of these studies taught their children about queer culture and prepared them to encounter queer specific bias, although Goldberg, et al. do not use the language of racial socialization in their content analysis. The current study extends this exploratory work in three important ways. First, neither of these works measured queer promotion of mistrust or mainstream queer socialization, even though Oakley, et al. also use the racial socialization literature and terminology to

inform their exploratory factor analysis. In this study, mainstream queer socialization was the second most frequently reported content area, which suggests that future work should include all four content areas suggested by the racial socialization literature. Further, the quantitative results in the current study differed slightly from the content areas of queer socialization that participants reported during interviews. Specifically, although parents and teenagers reported preparation for bias least frequently during interviews, it was the most strongly endorsed content area on questionnaires. Questionnaire items asked participants how much they agreed that parents "should" engage in each content area of socialization, while interview questions asked parents to describe what they had actually done relative to each content area. Thus, parents may agree that it is important to teach children about LGBTQ related discrimination without actually engaging in that behavior in their own lives. One strength of this study is that having multiple data sources allowed me to uncover this discrepancy, and future research should further investigate the factors that keep parents from engaging in behaviors that they believe to be important. Second, both of these studies focused solely on adopted children who were 8 years old or younger. Including a sample of both biological and adopted children in their teens is another strength of the current study. Finally, this project extends these studies by explicitly investigating the form and rationale for queer socialization.

Although racial and queer socialization resemble each other in many ways, there are also important differences between the two processes (research question 5). Results suggest that racial socialization is a more urgent concern for parents relative to queer socialization because they consider race to be a public identity and consider sexual orientation to be a private identity. This finding supports research that has addressed the public-private divide among some LGBT populations. For example, Suter and Daas (2007) found that many lesbian couples negotiate how public or private their relationship is by strategically displaying (or not displaying) their symbols of commitment (e.g., rings and shared homes). Because all of the teenagers in this study were Black and parents were aware of institutionalized racism, racial socialization was more valued and more frequent relative to queer socialization, even for White parents who were not personally affected by racism. Conversely, only two of the teenagers in this study identified as non-heterosexual, and parents were not always aware of institutionalized heteronormativity. It is important to note that although parents did not perceive institutional heteronormativity to be an influencing factor in their lives, heteronormativity is an embedded part of US society from the legal system to religion and politics (Bernstein & Reimann, 2001). Heterosexual people are still assumed to be the "default" or "standard" American ideal, as Steven Seidman (2002) asserts: "The ideal citizen, the citizen we most deeply respect, trust, and honor, is still [W]hite, male, abled, and straight" (p. 204). Although popular opinion about LGBTQ people is becoming increasingly positive and civil rights for the LGBTQ community have expanded significantly in the last decade, institutionalized heteronormativity

remains a pervasive problem. For example, at the time of this writing fewer than half of US states prohibit employment and housing discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity (Human Rights Campaign, 2017). The Supreme Court ruling in *Obergefell v Hodges* may have granted same-sex couples the legal right to marry, but this right is dependent upon LGBTQ people assimilating their lives and families into the (White) heteronorm:

> [In *Obergefell*] gay rights were framed as a culture war, and opponents set the integrity of the American family as the primary battleground. Gay rights activists met opponents on those terms and based their equal protection claim not on the right to be treated equally despite being different, but on the argument that gay and lesbian individuals should be treated the same because they are the same (Chang, 2016, p. 22).

Parents and teenagers in this study had internalized this message, with the majority reporting that LGBTQ parent families are essentially the same as heterosexual parent families and entering into legal same-sex marriages. Chang (2016) further warns that positioning marriage equality as the pinnacle of equality for LGBTQ people "breeds forgetfulness of past struggle and a blindness to present struggle" (Chang, 2016, p. 38). The lives of the four families in this study are different from the heteronormative ideal in many ways, and thus marriage equality has not solved all of their problems, even if parents are blind to the present struggle.

Another important distinction between racial and queer socialization is the encouragement (or discouragement) parents receive to teach their children about race and queer culture. Parents in this study felt less external pressure to engage in queer socialization than racial socialization. When they did feel pressure, it was largely from those who wished them to engage in heteronormative socialization about gender (but not sexuality or family). Gender may have been of particular concern to outsiders because gender is a visible characteristic of children from a young age. These findings provide additional support to research demonstrating that LG parents worry that others will evaluate them negatively as parents if they allow gender nonconformity in their children (Ackbar, 2011; Kane, 2006). By contrast, no parent reported feeling pressured to engage in colorblind racial socialization. When parents experience pressure related to queer socialization, it is pressure to not to teach children about queer culture or to socialize children in a heteronormative way, whereas pressure about racial socialization encourages parents to teach children about Black culture. Parents in this study were told by friends, family, books, and adoption agencies that racial socialization was important for their children. Conversely, parents were told that queer culture was not appropriate or relevant to their children. Thus, we see that parents are confronting more barriers to queer socialization than to racial socialization, because racial socialization is supported by their environment in ways that queer socialization is not.

Parents' racial and queer socialization practices are influenced by parents' and children's identities as well as the communities in which they reside (research question 6). Participants in this study all reported moderate to high sexual orientation identity salience, while racial identity salience varied from extremely low to extremely high. However, queer socialization was more variable than racial socialization. More research is needed to better understand the relationship between identity and socialization in Black and mixed race LGQ parent families, yet my findings suggest that queer socialization is more influenced by context than racial socialization, which was more consistent across families, neighborhoods, and cities. The relatively higher levels of racial socialization in this sample may be related to the fact that racial socialization consistently had more institutional and community support. For example, in both College Town and Metropolis, there were programming and resources that supported parents' racial socialization efforts such as Freedom Schools and artistic celebrations of African heritage (e.g., museums, music venues, etc.). Queer socialization was not institutionalized or supported by the College Town community in these ways, although there was institutional and community support for the LGBTQ community in Metropolis. For example, in College Town there has only been an annual LGBTQ Pride Festival for the last 7 years (compared to nearly 50 years of Pride Festivals in Metropolis), and there is no visible LGBTQ community or "gayborhood." The lack of resources and support in College Town impacted parents' ability to engage in queer socialization, even when they desired to do so. Because parents in Metropolis had access to more resources and support for queer socialization, they had more opportunities to engage in queer socialization than the parents in College Town. These findings suggest that institutional support for queer culture, including LGBTQ centers, LGBTQ art and cultural exhibits, and the inclusion of LGBTQ individuals and history in educational curricula will have a positive impact not only on LGBTQ individuals, but also on their children.

Our current understanding of LGQ parenting has demonstrated a paradox in that parents and children in these families seem to be doing generally well, although they consistently report experiencing heteronormative bias. In this study, I analyzed children's responses to queer socialization to evaluate queer socialization as a potential mechanism of LGQ parenting that produces positive outcomes (research question 7). I proposed that queer socialization strategies would be used to help buffer the negative effects of LGBTQ related discrimination and help explain this paradox because racial socialization has been shown to have a protective affect against racial discrimination for racial minorities. Although parents did engage in socialization out of concern for their children's wellbeing, this was not the most salient rationale for participants in this study, and children had a mix of positive and negative outcomes regardless of the level of queer socialization reported in their families. Children in families with less queer socialization had both positive and negative outcomes. For example, Aden had extremely poor

academic performance, but high levels of self-reported life satisfaction and low levels of depression. Nolan had high academic performance and average life satisfaction, but clinically significant levels of depression. Children in families with more queer socialization also had a mix of positive and negative outcomes, although with relatively fewer negative outcomes. Thus, the results of the current study are inconclusive about whether queer socialization has an ameliorating effect on LGBTQ related discrimination for teenagers in Black and mixed race LGQ parent families.

Teenagers in the current study varied in how "out" they were about having an LGQ parents, which supports previous research on the disclosure practices of children with LG parents (Gianino, Goldberg, & Lewis, 2009; Kuvalanka, et al., 2013, Vinjamuri, 2016). Gianino and colleagues (2009) found that parents' intentional conversations with children about having lesbian or gay parents aided in children's comfort and ability to disclose their family structure to others. The current study supports these findings in that the teenagers in families with relatively more queer socialization were more open about their parents' sexual orientation than teenagers in families with less queer socialization. This study adds to previous research because results suggest that parents may not need to specifically teach children how to come out about their parents, rather, providing children with general information about queer culture aids in their disclosure. That said, these results still support Gianino and colleagues recommendation that practitioners should help parents and children "develop the tools and confidence to disclose about their families (e.g., by role playing disclosure scenarios at home)" (p. 224).

This study attempted to achieve feminist intersectionality by bringing together racial and queer socialization in a study of sexual minority parenting. Although the primary aim of this study was not necessarily to challenge or expand existing theory, these findings have important implications for theory. First, this study extends the literature on LGQ parenting by focusing on processes and the content of parental socialization, from the perspective of both parents and their adolescent children. Importantly, this study moves beyond an examination of the ways that parental identity affects child outcomes to investigate the ways that LGQ parenting may be unique in potentially positive ways. Further, this study applies a new theoretical lens to the literature on LGQ parenting by using processes from the literature on racial socialization, including all four suggested content areas of socialization. Second, this project extends the theoretical application of racial socialization by not only investigating it within a new population (LGQ parent families) but also by addressing parents' rationales for racial socialization. Knowing that LGQ parents also engage in racial socialization, and why LGQ parents teach children about race, adds to the explanatory power of racial socialization and helps distinguish it from queer socialization and other family processes.

Finally, this study not only provides empirical evidence for Oswald and colleagues (2005) queering framework, but also complicates the gender, sexuality, and family binaries of the framework by

taking race into consideration. Results suggest that race is an important factor in the negotiation between heteronormativity and queering, as socialization often has to do with both race and queer culture, among other issues. This work also extends the framework's theoretical application through the introduction of queer socialization as a process of negotiating the tensions produced by each binary. This study established that queer socialization is occurring in LGQ parent families, and that it fits well within the rubric provided by the racial socialization literature (at least within this sample). Further, this study decenters the decentering heteronormativity model by demonstrating the ways that context influences the negotiation and socialization processes in Black and mixed race families with LGQ parents. Queer socialization is not occurring purely by virtue of having an LGQ parent; in fact, the parents in this study engaged in less queer socialization than racial socialization. Thus, the resources and support within each family's neighborhood and their network of friends and kin were more influential on the extent to which they engaged in queer socialization and the types of messages transmitted in the process. In sum, results of the current study reveal the messiness of family processes, and the importance of analyzing socialization processes within the broader community context.

Limitations & Future Directions

Case study methods have been critiqued for their lack of rigor, compared to other methods (e.g., randomized control group experiments). The current study followed systematic procedures, as outlined above, to avoid this pitfall. Case studies have also been criticized for their lack of generalizability. However, as Yin (2013) notes, "case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions, and not to populations or universes… the goal [is] to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization), and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)" (p. 15). Thus, my study sought to advance our understanding of the processes of racial and queer socialization, not to make generalized claims about all Black and mixed race LGQ parent families. However, this study is limited in that it can only speak to racial socialization processes relative to Black culture, which is also a limitation of the broader body of literature on racial socialization. Further, this study could have benefitted from more extensive observations with each family. Finally, a larger sample, although not necessary for case study methodology, could have provided further insight into racial and queer socialization processes.

In order to fully investigate racial and queer socialization processes, replications of my findings, and similar case studies with demographically distinct informants, are desirable. Research on racial socialization has relied predominantly on studies of African Americans, thus work with other racial and ethnic minority groups is needed, particularly as it relates to queer socialization and LGBTQ parent families. Research on gay fathers and other queer identified (e.g., queer, pansexual, bisexual) parents is also needed, as the literature on LGBTQ parent families has relied primarily on research with lesbian mothers. Families with transgender members may be the least prevalent and most undertheorized

population today; future research should address the ways that these families socialize children about race and queer culture, as well as the ways they negotiate family and heteronormativity in their lives (Pfeffer, 2012). Parents in this study often gave examples of racial and queer socialization from their child's early childhood, perhaps because parents of teenagers were less in control of their children's activities. Future studies with older children and teenagers are also needed, including longitudinal research that can assess changes in racial and queer socialization practices as children age. Previous research has shown that class influences racial socialization (Caughy, et al., 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, et al., 2006), therefore future research should address how class influences queer socialization with LGBTQ parent families of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. This study found relatively more queer socialization in families in which both the parent(s) and teenagers identified as LGBTQ (i.e., 2nd generation families; Kuvalanka & Goldberg, 2009) but more information is needed to fully understand the relationship between shared identity and queer socialization practices. Finally, to my knowledge, the current study is the first to create a quantitative measure that includes four content areas of queer socialization (Oakley, et al., measured cultural socialization and preparation for bias only). Qualitative results in this study support the use of the four component approach, and thus future research should continue to conceptualize queer socialization in this way.

Finally, this study did not clearly distinguish the gender, sexuality, family binaries of the queering model as they relate to queer socialization. More evidence is needed to unpack whether and how parents and children experience each site of tension differently. For example, in this study tensions arose in the family binary due to the racial difference between parents and their children who were not always perceived as family by others in their environment. These families had to negotiate the meaning of family in response to these kinds of external pressure, and these experiences had less to do with socialization within the family and more to do with the work of being perceived as family by others in the community. Future research should move beyond internal racial and queer socialization practices to investigate how parents and their children negotiate tensions at their family's external border with the community.

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Appendix A: Questionnaires for Parents and Teenagers

Questionnaire 1: Parents

Thank you for participating in the LGB Parenting Project! Please answer the following questions before your first interview. All of the information you provide will be kept confidential. The first few questions are about you and your family. Remember to answer all "child" questions about the target child we spoke about on the phone (between 14-18 years old).

1. How old are you (in years)?

a.

2. What is the ZIP code where you live?

a.

3. In what country was the target child born?

a.

4. In what country were you born?

a.

5. In what country were your parents born?

a.

6. Were any of your grandparents born outside the US (if so, where?)?

a. Yes: _____

b. No

7. How many people live in your household?

a. Adults:

b. Children:

8. Do you work for pay? If so, what do you do?

a. Yes: _____

b. No

9. There are many ways to describe socio-economic class. How would you describe your family?

a. Working class

b. Middle class

c. Upper middle class

d. Upper class

e. Other: _____

10. Thinking about all sources of income, what would you say was your average HOUSEHOLD income last year?

a. $0- $9,999
b. $10,000 - $20,000
c. $20,001 – $30,000
d. $30,001- $40,000
e. $40,001- $50,000
f. $50,001 - $60,000
g. 60,001- $70,000
h. $70,001 - $80,000
i. $80,000- $90,000
j. $90,001 - $100,000
k. More than $100,000

11. Which of the following racial/ethnic groups comes closest to identifying you?

a. Black
b. Hispanic or Latina/o
c. Asian American
d. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
e. Native American
f. White
g. Multiracial
h. Other: _____

12. On a scale from 1 -5 how important or central is your race/ethnicity identity to you?

1	2	3	4	5
Not important at all		important		Extremely important

13. What is the highest level of schooling you've completed?

a. Less than High School diploma
b. High School Diploma or GED
c. Some college, no degree
d. Associates degree
e. Bachelor's degree
f. Some graduate/professional school
g. Graduate/professional degree

14. What was the sex on your original birth certificate?

a. Male

b. Female

15. What is the sex on the target child's original birth certificate?

a. Male

b. Female

16. How would you describe your current gender identity?

a. Male

b. Female

c. Transgender

d. Other: _____

17. On a scale from 1 -5, how important or central is your gender identity to you?

1	2	3	4	5
Not important at all		important		Extremely important

18. On a scale from 1-10, with 1 being a person whose physical attributes including clothing, hair, style of dress, way of walking/talking are very feminine and consistent with those stereotypically associated with women, and 10 being a person whose physical attributes including clothing, hair, style of dress, way of walking/talking are very masculine and consistent with those stereotypically associated with men, how would you describe yourself?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Very feminine								Very masculine	

19. Using the same scale, how would you describe your partner's physical attributes? (If you do not currently have a romantic partner, rate the characteristics of your ideal partner)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Very feminine								Very masculine	

20. Using the same scale, how would you describe your child's physical attributes?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Very feminine								Very masculine	

21. How do you describe your sexual orientation?

a. Gay
b. Lesbian
c. Bisexual
d. Pansexual
e. Queer
f. Asexual
g. Other: _____

22. On a scale 1 -5, how important or central is your sexual orientation to you?

1	2	3	4	5
Not important at all		important		Extremely important

23. In what religious tradition were you raised?

a. Catholicism
b. Judaism
c. Islam
d. Agnostic/Atheist
e. Christianity (protestant, evangelical)
f. Other: _____

24. What religion do you currently practice?

a. Catholicism
b. Judaism
c. Islam
d. Agnostic/Atheist
e. Christianity (protestant, evangelical)
f. Other: _____

25. How often do you attend religious services as a family?

a. Never
b. Once a month
c. Weekly
d. More than once a week

26. On a scale from 1 -5, how important or central is your religion to you?

1	2	3	4	5
Not important at all		important		Extremely important

The next few questions are about your neighborhood, work, and place of worship. Your opinion is very important – there are no right or wrong answers.

27. Which statement is most true about your workplace/school?

a. Almost all people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine
b. A majority of the people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine.
c. There is about an equal mix of people from my racial/ethnic group and other groups.
d. A majority of the people are from my racial/ethnic group
e. Almost all people are from my racial/ethnic group.

28. Which statement is most true about your workplace/school?

a. Almost all people have a different sexual orientation than me
b. A majority of the people have a different sexual orientation than me
c. There is about an equal mix of people with my sexual orientation and other orientations
d. A majority of the people have the same sexual orientation than me
e. Almost all people have the same sexual orientation than me

29. Which statement is most true about the neighborhood where you live?

a. Almost all people have a different sexual orientation than me
b. A majority of the people have a different sexual orientation than me
c. There is about an equal mix of people with my sexual orientation and other orientations
d. A majority of the people have the same sexual orientation than me
e. Almost all people have the same sexual orientation than me

30. Which statement is most true about the neighborhood where you live?

a. Almost all people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine
b. A majority of the people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine.
c. There is about an equal mix of people from my racial/ethnic group and other groups.
d. A majority of the people are from my racial/ethnic group
e. Almost all people are from my racial/ethnic group.

31. Which statement is most true about your place of worship? (Skip this question if you do not attend religious services.)

a. Almost all people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine
b. A majority of the people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine.
c. There is about an equal mix of people from my racial/ethnic group and other groups.
d. A majority of the people are from my racial/ethnic group
e. Almost all people are from my racial/ethnic group.

32. Which statement is most true about your <u>place of worship</u>? (Skip this question if you do not attend religious services.)

a. Almost all people have a different sexual orientation than me
b. A majority of the people have a different sexual orientation than me
c. There is about an equal mix of people with my sexual orientation and other orientations
d. A majority of the people have the same sexual orientation than me
e. Almost all people have the same sexual orientation than me

The table below asks you to describe the climate in your neighborhood, your workplace, and your place of worship (if applicable). Mark the corresponding box with an X or check mark.

Question	Hostile	Tolerant	Supportive
How would you describe the climate for LGBTQ people in your neighborhood?			
How would you describe the climate for LGBTQ people in your workplace?			
How would you describe the climate for LGBTQ people in your place of worship (skip if you don't go to religious services)?			
How would you describe the climate for people of color in your neighborhood?			
How would you describe the climate for people of color in your workplace?			
How would you describe the climate for people of color in your place of worship (skip if you don't go to religious services)?			

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements (mark the corresponding box with an X or check mark).

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
My current social activities involve LGBTQ people only					
I would prefer social activities which involve LGBTQ people only					
I have only LGBTQ friends					
I would prefer to have only LGBTQ friends					
I prefer to have both LGBTQ and straight friends					
I feel connected to my local LGBTQ community					
I feel a bond with LGBTQ people					
I feel that the problems faced by the LGBTQ community are also my problems					
I feel connected to my local racial/ethnic community					
I feel a bond with other people in my racial/ethnic group					
I feel that the problems faced by my racial/ethnic community are also my problems					
Homophobia is a problem in my racial/ethnic community					
Homophobia is a problem in my neighborhood					
Homophobia is a problem in all communities of color					
Racism is a problem in the local LGBTQ community					
Racism is a problem in my neighborhood					
Racism is a problem in all LGBTQ communities					

Questionnaire 1: Teenagers

Thank you for participating in the LGB Parenting Project! Please answer the following questions before your first interview. All of the information you provide will be kept confidential (even from your parents). Your opinion is very important – there are no right or wrong answers.

1. How old are you (in years)?

a.

2. What year in school are you?

a. Freshman
b. Sophomore
c. Junior
d. Senior

3. Do you have a job? If so, what do you do?

a. Yes: _____
b. No

4. People describe their family's social class in lots of ways. How would you describe your family?

a. Working class
b. Middle class
c. Upper middle class
d. Upper class
e. Other: _____

5. Which of the following racial groups comes closest to identifying you?

a. Black
b. Hispanic or Latina/o
c. Asian American
d. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
e. Native American
f. White
g. Multiracial
h. Other: _____

6. How would you describe your gender identity?

a. Male
b. Female
c. Transgender
d. Other: _____

7. On a scale from 1 -5, how important or central is your gender identity to you?

1 2 3 4 5

Not important at all important Extremely important

8. On a scale from 1-10, with 1 being a person whose physical attributes including clothing, hair, style of dress, way of walking/talking are very feminine and consistent with those stereotypically associated with women, and 10 being a person whose physical attributes including clothing, hair, style of dress, way of walking/talking are very masculine and consistent with those stereotypically associated with men, how would you describe yourself?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very feminine Very masculine

9. Using the same scale, how would you describe parent #1's physical attributes?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very feminine Very masculine

10. Using the same scale, how would you describe your parent #2's physical attributes? (skip this question if you do not have more than one person you consider a parent)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very feminine Very masculine

11. How do you describe your sexual orientation?

a. Gay
b. Lesbian
c. Bisexual
d. Pansexual
e. Straight/heterosexual
f. Queer
g. Asexual
h. Other: _____

12. On a scale from 1 -5, how important or central is your sexual orientation to you?

1 2 3 4 5

Not important at all important Extremely important

13. What religion do you practice?

a. Catholicism
b. Judaism
c. Islam
d. Agnostic/Atheist
e. Christianity (protestant, evangelical)
f. Other: _____

14. How often do you attend religious services as a family?

a. Never
b. Once a month
c. Weekly
d. More than once a week

15. On a scale from 1 -5, (extremely important), how important or central is your religion to you?

1	2	3	4	5
Not important at all		important		Extremely important

The next few questions are about your neighborhood, your school, and place of worship. Your opinion is very important – there are no right or wrong answers.

16. Which statement is most true about your school?

a. Almost all people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine
b. A majority of the people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine.
c. There is about an equal mix of people from my racial/ethnic group and other groups.
d. A majority of the people are from my racial/ethnic group
e. Almost all people are from my racial/ethnic group.

17. Which statement is most true about your school?

a. Almost all students' parents have a different sexual orientation than my parent(s)
b. A majority of students' parents have a different sexual orientation than my parent(s)
c. There is about an equal mix of students' whose parents have a different sexual orientation than my parent(s) and the same orientation as my parent(s)
d. A majority of the students' parents have the same sexual orientation as my parent(s)
e. Almost all students' parents have the same sexual orientation as my parent(s)

18. Which statement is most true about the neighborhood where you live?

a. Almost all people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine
b. A majority of the people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine.
c. There is about an equal mix of people from my racial/ethnic group and other groups.
d. A majority of the people are from my racial/ethnic group
e. Almost all people are from my racial/ethnic group.

19. Which statement is most true about the neighborhood where you live?

a. Almost all people have a different sexual orientation than my parent(s)
b. A majority of the people have a different sexual orientation than my parent(s)
c. There is about an equal mix of people with my parent(s) sexual orientation and other orientations
d. A majority of the people have the same sexual orientation than my parent(s)
   Almost all people have the same sexual orientation than my parent(s)

20. Which statement is most true about your place of worship? (Skip this question if you do not attend religious services.)

a. Almost all people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine
b. A majority of the people are from a different racial/ethnic group than mine.
c. There is about an equal mix of people from my racial/ethnic group and other groups.
d. A majority of the people are from my racial/ethnic group
e. Almost all people are from my racial/ethnic group.

21. Which statement is most true about your place of worship? (Skip this question if you do not attend religious services.)

a. Almost all people have a different sexual orientation than my parent(s)
b. A majority of the people have a different sexual orientation than my parent(s)
c. There is about an equal mix of people with my parent(s) sexual orientation and other orientations
d. A majority of the people have the same sexual orientation than my parent(s)
e. Almost all people have the same sexual orientation than my parent(s)

The table below asks you to describe the climate in your neighborhood, your workplace, and your place of worship (if applicable). Mark the corresponding box with an X or check mark.

Question	Hostile	Tolerant	Supportive
How would you describe the climate for LGBTQ people in your neighborhood?			
How would you describe the climate for LGBTQ people in your workplace?			
How would you describe the climate for LGBTQ people in your place of worship (skip if you don't go to religious services)?			
How would you describe the climate for people of color in your neighborhood?			
How would you describe the climate for people of color in your workplace?			
How would you describe the climate for people of color in your place of worship (skip if you don't go to religious services)?			

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements (mark the corresponding box with an X or check mark).

Statement	*Strongly Agree*	*Agree*	*Neutral*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
My current social activities involve LGBTQ people only					
I would prefer social activities which involve LGBTQ people only					
I have only LGBTQ friends					
I would prefer to have only LGBTQ friends					
I prefer to have both LGBTQ and straight friends					
My current social activities involve LGBTQ people only					
I feel connected to my local LGBTQ community					
I feel a bond with LGBTQ people					
I feel that the problems faced by the LGBTQ community are also my problems					
I feel connected to my local racial/ethnic community					
I feel a bond with other people in my racial/ethnic group					
I feel that the problems faced by my racial/ethnic community are also my problems					
Homophobia is a problem in my racial/ethnic community					
Homophobia is a problem in my neighborhood					
Homophobia is a problem in all communities of color					
Racism is a problem in the local LGBTQ community					
Racism is a problem in my neighborhood					
Racism is a problem in all LGBTQ communities					

Questionnaire 2: Parents and Teenagers

Thanks again for being part of the LGB Parenting Project! Below are some questions about parenting related to race/ethnicity and sexual orientation. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. Remember that there are no right or wrong answers**, it is your opinion that is important.** All the answers you provide will be kept strictly confidential.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Parents should explain to children that people might treat them badly or try to limit them because of their race.					
Parents should teach their children about the fight for equality for Blacks/people of color					
Parents should explain to children things on TV that show poor treatment of people of color					
Parents should talk to their children about things they mislearned about people of color in school					
Racism and discrimination are the hardest things children of color have to face.					
Parents should teach children of color that they must be better than White kids to get the same rewards					
Parents should talk to children about racial differences in physical features					
Parents should read books about their racial/ethnic history to their children.					
Parents should do things to celebrate their own/their child's racial/ethnic history, such as taking children to cultural events					
Parents should teach their children to be proud of their race/ethnicity.					
Teaching children about their racial/ethnic history will help them survive a hostile world.					
Parents should not teach their children to speak their minds because they could be attacked by others in society.					
Parents should tell children of color to keep a social distance from Whites.					
Parents should tell their children not to trust / to be wary of Whites					
Parents should teach children to be vigilant/ keep skepticism around Whites					
Whites do not have more opportunities than people of color.					
Parents can teach children to be proud of their race without saying a word.					
Children should be taught that all races are equal and our society is fair to people of color.					

Parents who talk about racism with their children will lead them to doubt themselves.					
Children of color will be fine in a school with mostly White children.					
Children should not choose friends on the basis of their racial or ethnic background or try to initiate cross-race friendships simply for the purpose of diversity.					

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Parents should explain to children that people might treat them badly because of their parents' sexual orientation.					
Parents should explain to children that people may try to limit them because of their parents' sexual orientation.					
Parents should teach their children about the fight for equality for LGBTQ people					
Parents should explain to children things on TV that show poor treatment of LGBTQ people					
Parents should talk to their children about things they mislearned in school about LGBTQ people					
Heterosexism and discrimination are the hardest things children of LGBTQ people have to face.					
LGBTQ parents should not teach their children to speak their minds about LGBTQ issues because they could be attacked by others in society.					
LGBTQ parents should tell their children to keep a social distance from conservative individuals and/or organizations.					
LGBTQ parents should tell their children not to trust/ to be wary of conservative individuals and/or organizations.					
LGBTQ parents should teach children to be vigilant/keep skepticism around conservative individuals and/or organizations.					
Our society is fair to LGBTQ people.					
Children of LGBTQ parents will not be harassed simply because of their parents' sexual orientation.					
Parents who talk about heterosexism/homophobia with their children will lead them to doubt themselves.					
Children should not choose friends on the basis of their sexual orientation or try to initiate friendships simply for the purpose of diversity.					
Children of LGBTQ parents will be fine in a school with mostly children of straight parents					
Straight people do not have more opportunities than LGBTQ people.					
Parents should teach their children to be proud of having an LGBTQ parent.					

Parents should read books about gender and sexual diversity and/or LGBTQ history to their children.					
Schools should be required to teach children about LGBTQ history.					
Teachers should make it so that children of LGBTQ parent families see signs of their culture in the classroom.					
Teaching children about LGBTQ history will help them survive a hostile world.					

Over the last 2 weeks, how often have you been bothered by any of the following problems? (circle one number for each statement)

How often during the past 2weeks were you bothered by...	Not at all	Several days	More than half of the days	Nearly every day
Little interest or pleasure in doing things	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Trouble falling or staying asleep, or sleeping too much	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Feeling tired or having little energy	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Poor appetite or overeating	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Feeling bad about yourself, or that you are a failure, or have let yourself or your family down	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Trouble concentrating on things, such as reading the newspaper or watching television	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Moving or speaking so slowly that other people could have noticed. Or the opposite – being so fidgety or restless that you have been moving around a lot more than usual	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**

Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by circling the appropriate number next to that item. Please be open and honest with your responses.

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
In many ways my life is close to my ideal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The conditions of my life are excellent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am satisfied with my life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life		1	2	3	4	5	6
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Interview 1

Domain	Parents	Teens
	Sign Consent Form	**Verbal Assent**
Icebreaker	Thanks for agreeing to speak with me today. Were you able to fill out the questionnaire I sent you? • (if yes) Great, thanks! • (if no) That's no problem, I've got a copy here if you don't mind filling it out now. Were there any questions you found confusing or that you were unable to answer? Do you like coloring? I brought some coloring books and colored pencils that we can work on while we chat. Today, I'd like to learn more about you, your family, and the neighborhood where you live. Let's start with you. So tell me about how your family came to be. How did you meet your partner?	Thanks for agreeing to speak with me today. A lot of times people ask parents what their kids think, but I'd rather hear it straight from you. Were you able to fill out the questionnaire I sent you? • (if yes)Great, thanks! • (if no) That's no problem, I've got a copy here if you don't mind filling it out now. Were there any questions you found confusing or that you were unable to answer? Do you like coloring? I brought some coloring books and colored pencils for us to work on while we chat. Today, I'd like to learn more about you, your family, and the neighborhood where you live. Let's start with you. If you were going to wake up tomorrow as an animal, which animal would you want to be and why?
Demographics		
Race/ethnicity	On the Questionnaire, I asked you to describe your race using the categories from the US census. You chose _____. How did those options do at	On the Questionnaire, I asked you to describe your race using the categories from the US census. You chose _____. How did those options do at describing your race and ethnicity? Is there any other

	describing your race and ethnicity? Is there any other way you describe yourself?	way you describe yourself?
Racial identity salience	What makes you feel that your race/ethnicity is an important/not important part of your identity? On a scale from 1 (not important at all) -5 (extremely important), you said that your race/ethnicity was ___. What does that number mean to you? What's the best/worst thing about being ____ (race/ethnicity)?	What makes you feel that your race/ethnicity is an important/not important part of your identity? On a scale from 1 (not important at all) -5 (extremely important), you said that your race/ethnicity was ___. What does that number mean to you? What's the best/worst thing about being ____ (race/ethnicity)?
Gender	You described your gender as _____. In what ways do you see yourself as reflecting and/or challenging stereotypically masculine and/or stereotypically feminine qualities? For example: a. Your Appearance/Dress: Manner of dress, hairstyle & hair length, voice, body build b. Your Interests: Hobbies, sports, job/career c. Your Personality Characteristics: being strong/weak; independent/dependent, gentle/aggressive While you were growing up, what	You described your gender as _____. In what ways do you see yourself as reflecting and/or challenging stereotypically masculine and/or stereotypically feminine qualities? For example: a. Your Appearance/Dress: Manner of dress, hairstyle & hair length, voice, body build b. Your Interests: Hobbies, sports, job/career c. Your Personality Characteristics: being strong/weak; independent/dependent, gentle/aggressive What kinds of beliefs, values, or rules have you been taught regarding your gender and/or sexual orientation (probe for influence of religious/cultural beliefs) For example, the way you:

	kinds of beliefs, values, or rules were you taught regarding your gender and/or sexual orientation (probe for influence of religious/cultural beliefs) For example, the way you: a. Dressed b. Behaved/Carried yourself c. Activities and interests you chose? How do these beliefs & values fit with your sense of yourself now (regarding gender and sexual orientation)?	a. Dressed b. Behaved/Carried yourself c. Activities and interests you chose? Do you agree with those things? Why or why not?
Gender identity salience	What makes you feel that your gender is an important/not important part of your identity? On a scale from 1 (not important at all) -5 (extremely important), you said that your gender identity was ___. Why'd you choose that number? What does that number mean to you?	What makes you feel that your gender is an important/not important part of your identity? On a scale from 1 (not important at all) -5 (extremely important), you said that your gender identity was ___. Why'd you choose that number? What does that number mean to you?
Gender presentation	On the Questionnaire you rated your own physical attributes as a ___ on a scale from 1 (feminine) to 10(masculine). What made you choose that number? (skip if no partner) You rated your partner as ___. What made you choose that number?	On the Questionnaire you rated your own physical attributes as a ___ on a scale from 1 (feminine) to 10(masculine). Your parent(s) physical attributes? What makes you choose that number? You rated your first parent as ___. What made you choose that number? (skip if single parent) You rated your second parent as ___. What made you choose that number?

	You rated (child) as ___. What made you choose that number?	
Sexual orientation	You identified your sexual orientation as ____. People use a lot of labels to describe themselves, and they often mean different things. What does it mean to you to describe yourself as ____? On a scale from 1 (not important at all) -5 (extremely important), you said that your sexual orientation was ___. What does that number mean to you? What made you answer that way? Is being ___ a political identity for you? What's the best/worst thing about being ____ (sexual orientation)? If you had to rank your sexuality, gender, and race/ethnicity in order of importance, how would you rank them? Why?	On a scale from 1 (not important at all) -5 (extremely important), you said that your sexual orientation was ___. What does that number mean to you? What made you answer that way? If you had to rank your sexuality, gender, and race/ethnicity in order of importance, how would you rank them?
Familial response to sexual orientation	How have your parents or parental figures responded to you as a _____? As a ___ person, how much do you feel supported by your family? By your extended family?	(If identify as non-hetero) How have your parents or parental figures responded to you as a _____? As a ___ person, how much do you feel supported by your family? By your extended family?
Religion	Thinking about your sexuality, how much has your religious	(If identify as non-hetero) Thinking about your sexuality, how much has your

	tradition or spiritual practice been a negative or positive influence for you (in coming to terms with your LGBTQ identity)? What kinds of conversations have you had with (child) about religion?	religious tradition or spiritual practice been a negative or positive influence for you (in coming to terms with your LGBTQ identity)? What kinds of conversations have you had with your parent(s) about religion?
Discrimination at church	(If stated that family attends church) What kinds of positive or negative experiences have you had at church related to your sexuality or family structure? Probe for details about experiences mentioned: • How old was your child? • How did you talk to your child(ren) about that experience? • Do you remember exactly what you said to them? What they said to you? You stated that you didn't attend church anymore- can you tell me how or why you stopped attending?	(If stated that family attends church) What kinds of positive or negative experiences have you had at church (related to your sexuality or family structure)? Probe for details about experiences mentioned: • How old were you? • How did you talk to your parent(s) about that experience? • Do you remember exactly what you said to them? What they said to you? You stated that you didn't attend church anymore- can you tell me how or why you stopped attending?
Support	Who do you turn to when you need help with a task or a problem? (Probe for specific domains) Have you ever sought help for a problem related to: • Emotional/ traumatic event	Who do you turn to when you need help with a task or a problem? (Probe for specific domains) Have you ever sought help for a problem related to: • Emotional/ traumatic event • Financial • Gender

	• Financial • Gender • sexual orientation • race/ethnicity • parenting • LGB/ queer parenting Who do your children turn to when they need help or support with a task or a problem? (probe for other family, and non-family members) a. What kinds of things do you or others help them with? b. How often/much do you or others help them with these things? c. Have these things ever changed? Explain. d. Do you expect them to change in the future? Explain.	• sexual orientation • race/ethnicity • Being the child of (LGB) parent(s) Who do your parents turn to when they need help or support with a task or a problem? (probe for other family, and non-family members) a. What kinds of things do you or others help them with? b. How often/much do you or others help them with these things? c. Have these things ever changed? Explain. d. Do you expect them to change in the future? Explain.
Transition	Thanks for sharing all of that with me. I'd like to switch gears slightly and talk about your family.	Thanks for sharing all of that with me. I'd like to switch gears slightly and talk about your family.
Co-Parenting		
	Use these stickers to represent people. First, put stickers down on this sheet of paper to represent you, your partner, and your child(ren). Next, use the stickers to show me	Use these stickers to represent people. First, put stickers down on this sheet of paper to represent you, your siblings, and your parents. Next, use the stickers to show me everyone who you consider parents or parental

	everyone else who is important in raising (child). You can draw lines to represent how the other people are involved. For example, some people say that their pastor, parents, siblings, friends, congregation, extended family Why and how are these people important to you and (child)? Show me in your picture who supports you as a LGB person. How are they supportive/not? Who supports you as a (ethnicity/race) person? How are they supportive/not? How has this arrangement changed over time? What else is important for me to know about you or your family?	figures. You can draw lines to represent how the other people are involved. For example, some people say that their pastor, parents, siblings, friends, congregation, extended family Why and how are these people important to you? Show me in your picture who supports you as a LGB person. How are they supportive/not? Who supports you as a (ethnicity/race) person? How are they supportive/not? How has this changed over time? What else is important for me to know about you or your family?

Transition	Wonderful, thanks! The last thing I'd like to talk about today is the neighborhood where you live.	Wonderful, thanks! The last thing I'd like to talk about today is the neighborhood where you live.
Environmental characteristics		
Perception of racial similarity.	What's it like to be a person of color where you live? Where you work? Where you worship? Probe for examples of things that may have happened recently. What else can you tell me about the racial makeup of the places you spend most of your time? What does that mean to you? On the Questionnaire, you were asked which	What's it like to be a person of color where you live? Where you go to school? Where you worship? Probe for examples of things that may have happened recently. What else can you tell me about the racial makeup of the places you spend most of your time? What does that mean to you?

	statements best described your neighborhood, your workplace, and your place of worship in terms of race/ethnicity. What made you choose that answer?	On the Questionnaire, you were asked which statements best described your neighborhood, your workplace, and your place of worship in terms of race/ethnicity. What made you choose that answer?
Perception of sexual orientation similarity	What's it like to be an LGBTQ person where you live? Where you work? Where you worship? Probe for examples of things that may have happened recently. On the questionnaire, you were also asked which statements best described your neighborhood, your workplace, and your place of worship in terms of sexual orientation. What made you choose that answer?	What's it like to have LGBTQ parent(s) where you live? At school? Where you worship? Probe for examples of things that may have happened recently. On the questionnaire, you were also asked which statements best described your neighborhood, your workplace, and your place of worship in terms of your parent(s) sexual orientation. What made you choose that answer?
	What is like to be a LGBTQ person in your racial/ethnic community? How does your sexual orientation affect your life as a person of color? Probe for examples of things that may have happened recently. On the questionnaire you were asked what you thought about homophobia in your racial/ethnic community, your neighborhood, and the LGBTQ community. What made you choose that answer? What's it like to be a person of color in the LGBTQ community? How does your race/ethnicity affect your life as a LGBTQ person? Probe for examples of things that may have happened recently. You were also asked what you thought about racism in your neighborhood, and the LGBTQ community.	What do you think it's like to be a LGBTQ person in your racial/ethnic community? On the questionnaire you were asked what you thought about homophobia in your racial/ethnic community, your neighborhood, and the LGBTQ community. What made you choose that answer? Probe for examples of things that may have happened recently. You were also asked what you thought about racism in your neighborhood, and the LGBTQ community. What made you choose that answer? Probe for examples of things that may have happened recently.

	What made you choose that answer?	

Community Involvement		
LGBTQ community involvement	How involved would you say you and your family are in your local LGBTQ community? Thinking about LGBT groups, organizations, and activities in general Probe for: - Participate in political events (march, rally) - Participate in social or cultural events (clubs, movies, restaurants) - Read newspapers or magazines - Received goods or services (counseling, food, medical) - Donate money	How involved would you say you and your family are in your local LGBTQ community? Thinking about LGBT groups, organizations, and activities in general Probe for: - Participate in political events (march, rally) - Participate in social or cultural events (clubs, movies, restaurants) - Read newspapers or magazines - Received goods or services (counseling, food, medical) - Donate money
	I see on your questionnaire that you said: - I prefer social activities which involve LGBT members only - I prefer social activities which involve straight members only - I prefer social activities which involve both LGBT members and straight members. - I prefer to have only LGBT friends - I prefer to have only straight friends - I prefer to have both LGBT and straight friends What made you choose that answer?	On the sheet provided, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement: - I prefer social activities which involve LGBT members only - I prefer social activities which involve straight members only - I prefer social activities which involve both LGBT members and straight members. - I prefer to have only LGBT friends - I prefer to have only straight friends - I prefer to have both LGBT and straight friends What makes you choose that answer?
Racial community	How involved would you say you and your family are in your local racial/ethnic	How involved would you say you and your family are in your local racial/ethnic

involvement	community? Thinking about groups, organizations, and activities for people of color in general. Probe for: - Participate in political events (march, rally) - Participate in social or cultural events (clubs, movies, restaurants) - Read newspapers or magazines - Received goods or services (counseling, food, medical) - Donate money	community? Thinking about groups, organizations, and activities for people of color in general. Probe for: - Participate in political events (march, rally) - Participate in social or cultural events (clubs, movies, restaurants) - Read newspapers or magazines - Received goods or services (counseling, food, medical) - Donate money
	What is your community like for LGBT people of color?	What is your community like for LGBT people of color?
	How often have you attended a racial or ethnic LGBT pride festival? How active are you/your family in that community? How far do you typically travel to socialize or hang out at a LGBT establishment? (in miles, and/or in time)	How often have you attended a racial or ethnic LGBT pride festival? How active are you/your family in that community? How far do you typically travel to socialize or hang out at a LGBT establishment? (in miles, and/or in time)

Community Attachment		
	How do you feel about the local LGBTQ community? What is your place in it? On the questionnaire, you said you: - I feel connected to my local LGBT community - I feel that the problems faced by the LGBT community are also my problems - I feel a bond with other LGBT people What made you respond that way?	How do you feel about the local LGBTQ community? What is your place in it? On the questionnaire, you said you: - I feel connected to my local LGBT community - I feel that the problems faced by the LGBT community are also my problems - I feel a bond with LGBT people What made you respond that way?

	Are there places in your community that you consider unsafe for yourself or your family? Where are LGBTQ resources located? Where are race/ethnicity resources located? Probe for distance in miles/time, how often they attend Where are some places in your community where your family, you and/or (child) regularly go? What is the best thing about being an LGBTQ person in your neighborhood? The worst thing? What makes you say that?	Are there places in your community that you consider unsafe? Where are LGBTQ resources located? Where are race/ethnicity resources located? Probe for distance in miles/time, how often they attend Where are some places in your community where your family, you and/or your parent(s) regularly go? What is the best thing about being an LGBTQ/young person in your neighborhood? The worst thing? What makes you say that?
Community Climate		
Community climate for LGBT people	What makes you say that your neighborhood is _____ for LGBTQ people? What would a supportive neighborhood look like? What makes you say that your workplace is _____ for LGBTQ people? What would a supportive workplace look like? (skip if no religious affiliation) What makes you say that your place of worship is _____ for LGBTQ people? What would a supportive congregation look like?	What makes you say that your neighborhood is _____ for LGBTQ people? What would a supportive neighborhood look like? What makes you say that your school is _____ for LGBTQ people? What would a supportive school look like? (skip if no religious affiliation) What makes you say that your place of worship is _____ for LGBTQ people? What would a supportive congregation look like?
Community climate for racial/ethnic minorities	What makes you say that your neighborhood is _____ for people of color? What would a supportive neighborhood look like? What makes you say that your workplace is _____ for people of color? What would a supportive workplace look like?	What makes you say that your neighborhood is _____ for people of color? What would a supportive neighborhood look like? What makes you say that your school is _____ for people of color? What would a supportive school look like?

	(skip if no religious affiliation) What makes you say that your place of worship is _____ for people of color? What would a supportive congregation look like? What else would be important for me to know about your neighborhood and community?	(skip if no religious affiliation) What makes you say that your place of worship is _____ for people of color? What would a supportive congregation look like? What else would be important for me to know about your neighborhood and community?

Transition/ schedule next interview	Thanks! You've been really helpful and given me a lot of great information. I'd love to meet and talk some more in a few weeks. Do you have your schedule?	Thanks! You've been really helpful and given me a lot of great information. I'd love to meet and talk some more in a few weeks. Do you have your schedule?

Interview 2

Introduction/ reaffirm consent	Thanks again for meeting with me today. I really enjoyed getting to know you during our last conversation and I'm looking forward to hearing more of what you have to say. Remember that you don't have to answer any questions that you don't want to, and we can stop this conversation at any time if you're feeling uncomfortable or don't want to continue. Were you able to fill out the questionnaire I gave you last time? • (if yes) Great, thanks! • (if no) That's no problem; I've got a copy here if you don't mind filling it out now.	Thanks again for meeting with me today. I really enjoyed getting to know you during our last conversation and I'm looking forward to hearing more of what you have to say. Remember that you don't have to answer any questions that you don't want to, and we can stop this conversation at any time if you're feeling uncomfortable or don't want to continue. I won't tell your parents about our conversation. Were you able to fill out the questionnaire I gave you last time? • (if yes) Great, thanks! • (if no) That's no problem; I've got a copy here if you don't mind filling it out now.
	Follow up on any questions that remain after first interview Add any new questions that arose from first interviews with other informants	
Transition	I'm hoping to talk today about the ways that you've talked with (child) about race and sexuality.	I'm hoping to talk today about the ways that you've talked with your parent(s) about race and sexuality.
Racial socialization	While you were growing up, what kinds of beliefs, values, or rules were you taught regarding your race/ethnicity? Do you any of those things with (child)? Have you ever talked with someone else about race when your child could hear? What were you talking about?	What kinds of beliefs, values, or rules have you been taught regarding your race/ethnicity? Who taught you those things? Have you ever heard your parent(s) talk with someone else about race when you could hear? What were they talking about?
Cultural socialization	How have you taught (child) about your family's ethnic/racial background?	How have your parents taught you about your family's ethnic/racial background?

	What are some of the things that your family currently does or did in the past that reflect your ethnic/racial heritage? "Examples include -talking about important historical or cultural figures; -exposing children to culturally relevant books, artifacts, music, and stories; -celebrating cultural holidays; -eating ethnic foods; and -encouraging children to use their family's native language."	What are some of the things that your family currently does or did in the past that reflect your ethnic/racial heritage? "Examples include -talking about important historical or cultural figures; -exposing children to culturally relevant books, artifacts, music, and stories; -celebrating cultural holidays; -eating ethnic foods; and -encouraging children to use their family's native language."
Promotion of mistrust	When you think about teaching (child) to be smart and safe around racial issues, one thing that some parents do is to teach kids not to trust or to be wary of certain groups of people. Is this something you try to do? Can you give me specific examples of how this happens in your family? If no, can you give me specific examples of how you do something else, like trying to promote trust?	One thing that parents do make their kids smart and safe around racial issues is to try to teach their kids not to trust or to be wary of certain groups of people. Is this something your parents do? Is this something that you've heard from other people in your life? Can you give me specific examples of how this happens in your family? If no, can you give me specific examples of something else your parent(s) do, like trying to promote trust?
Preparation for bias	Another thing that some parents try to do is to teach their kids what to do if they experience discrimination. How have you taught (child) to cope with discrimination? Can you give me specific examples of how this happens in your family? If no, what or who has kept you from having this conversation with (child)?	Another thing that some parents try to do is to teach their kids what to do if they experience discrimination. How have your parents taught you to cope with discrimination? How have other people in your life taught you about discrimination? Can you give me specific examples of how this happens in your family?

		If no, what or who has kept you from having this conversation?
Egalitarianism and silence about race (mainstream socialization)	Some parents think that children should be taught that all races/ethnicities are equal. What do you think? How have you taught (child) about racial equality? Can you give me specific examples of how this happens in your family? Some parents believe that talking about racism will make children doubt themselves. What do you think?	Some parents think that children should be taught that all races/ethnicities are equal. What do you think? How have your parent(s) taught you about racial equality? Can you give me specific examples of how this happens in your family? Some parents believe that talking about racism will make children doubt themselves. What do you think?
Transition	Thank you, you've given me really helpful information so far. Now I'd like you think about how you've talked to (child) about sexuality, or sexual orientation	Thank you, you've given me really helpful information so far. Now I'd like you think about how you've talked to your parents about sexuality, or sexual orientation
Queer socialization	Some people think that LGBTQ people have their own culture that is different from mainstream American culture or other cultures. What do you think?	Some people think that LGBTQ people have their own culture that is different from mainstream American culture or other cultures. What do you think?
Queering Sexuality	How have you talked to your children about your sexual orientation? How did you address issues of being different? a. (If not) Explain what/who prevented you from doing this? b. Tell me about a conversation with (child) that you thought was most vivid/important (probe for): a. How old was (child's name) at the time? b. What events led up to the conversation? Who initiated the conversation?	How have you talked about sexual orientation with your parent(s)? How have you talked about being different? a. (If not) Explain what/who prevented you from doing this? b. If so, tell me about a conversation that you thought was most vivid/important (probe for): a. How old were you at the time? b. What events led up to the conversation? Who initiated the conversation? c. What was said?

	c. What was said? d. Was (child's name) concerned about their own sexuality? What did they ask/say? e. How did you respond? f. Was there anything you wanted to say during that conversation that you didn't? Have you ever talked with someone else about your sexuality/sexual orientation when your child could hear? What were you discussing?	d. What did your parent(s) ask/say? Were they concerned about something? e. How did you respond? f. Was there anything you wanted to say during that conversation that you didn't? Have you ever heard your parent(s) talking with someone else about sexuality/sexual orientation when you could hear? What were they talking about?
Cultural socialization	What are some of the things that your family currently does or did in the past related to LGBTQ culture/community? Have you ever talked to (child) about important historical or cultural figures who are LGBTQ? For example/probe for: • Take children to LGBTQ cultural events • Do things to celebrate LGBTQ history • Take children to get hairstyles/clothing associated with LGBTQ people • exposing children to culturally relevant books, movies, artifacts, music, and stories; • celebrating cultural holidays: conception day? • anniversary of parents' civil union/commitment ceremony? Coming out day? Day of silence? Pride week/month?	What are some of the things that your family currently does or did in the past related to LGBTQ culture/community? Have your parents ever talked to you about important historical or cultural figures who are LGBTQ? For example/probe for: • Take children to LGBTQ cultural events • Do things to celebrate LGBTQ history • Take children to get hairstyles/clothing associated with LGBTQ people • exposing children to culturally relevant books, movies, artifacts, music, and stories; • celebrating cultural holidays: conception day? • anniversary of parents' civil union/commitment ceremony? Coming out day? Day of silence? Pride week/month?
Promotion of	Some LGBTQ parents teach their children about	Some LGBTQ parents teach their children about

mistrust	heterosexism/homophobia (that LGBTQ people have fewer opportunities than straight people) to help them survive and be successful. What do you think? Some LGBT folks think it's important to be wary of conservative individuals and organizations. What do you think?	heterosexism/homophobia (that LGBTQ people have fewer opportunities than straight people) to help them survive and be successful. What do you think? Some LGBT folks think it's important to be wary of conservative individuals and organizations. What do you think?
Preparation for bias	Do you think parents should teach their children about heterosexism/homophobia? How have you taught (child) to cope with discrimination related to having LGB parent(s)?	Do you think parents should teach their children about heterosexism/homophobia? How have your parent(s) taught you to deal with discrimination related to having LGB parent(s)?
Egalitarianism and silence about queer issues	Some parents think that children should be taught that all sexual orientations are the same/equal. What do you think? How have you taught (child) about LGBT equality? Can you give me specific examples of how this happens in your family?	Some parents think that children should be taught that all sexual orientations are the same/equal. What do you think? How have your parent(s) taught you about LGBT equality? Can you give me specific examples of how this happens in your family?
Queering Gender	How have you talked with (child) about gender identity/roles? That is, the behaviors and roles attached to one's sense of being a man or woman? How did you address issues of being different? c. (If not) Explain what/who prevented you from doing this? d. If so, tell me about such a conversation/ SITUATION with (child) that you thought was most vivid/important (probe for): a. How old was (child's name) at the time? b. What events led up to the conversation? Who initiated the conversation?	How have you ever talked to your parent(s) about gender identity/roles, that is, the behaviors and roles attached to one's sense of being a man or woman? How did they talk about issues of being different? c. (If not) Explain why you think you haven't discussed this d. If so, tell me about such a conversation that you thought was most vivid/important (probe for): a. How old were you at the time? b. What events led up to the conversation? Who initiated the conversation? c. What was said? d. What did your parent(s)

	c. What was said? d. Was (child's name) concerned about their own sexuality? What did they ask/say? e. How did you respond? f. In person or by text/Facebook? Was there anything you wanted to say during that conversation that you didn't? Has (child) ever expressed a desire to be another gender/sex, or behaved in a way that strongly indicated that he/she wanted to be another sex/gender (e.g. in dress, or actions) a. (If so), tell me about one of these times, that you think was most vivid/important (probe for): i. What happened? ii. What did he/she say? iii. How did you respond? What was said? What was not said? iv. What was the outcome? b. b. (If not), how do you imagine you would respond if he/she expressed this desire?	ask/say? Were they concerned about something? e. How did you respond? f. In person or by text/Facebook? Was there anything you wanted to say during that conversation that you didn't? Have you ever wanted to be a different sex/gender? -If no, how do you think your parent(s) would respond if you did? -If yes, Have you talked to your parents about it? a. If so, tell me about the conversation. b. If not, what/whom kept you from talking to them
Queering Family	Some people think that LGBT/queer families are the same as heterosexual/all other families. Others say they're totally different. What do you think? Do you think your family is very similar/different to other families? In what ways? What is the legal relationship between those you consider part of your family? What kinds of conversations have you had with (child) about their birth story/conception?	Some people think that LGBT/queer families are the same as heterosexual/all other families. Others say they're totally different. What do you think? Do you think your family is very similar/different to other families? In what ways? What kinds of conversations have you had with your parents about your birth story/conception? What kinds of conversation have you had with your friends/peers at school about your family

		structure/parent(s) sexual orientation?
Transition	That's really interesting, thank you. The last thing I'd like to talk about today is any negative experiences you might have had in your community or (child)'s school based on your sexual orientation, gender, or status as a parent.	That's really interesting, thank you. The last thing I'd like to talk about today is any negative experiences you might have had in your community or school based on your parent(s) sexual orientation or gender.
Experiences with prejudice **Discrimination at school scale:**	Have you experienced prejudice or discrimination because of your family structure/ sexuality/ gender identity or expression? • Tell me about a time that you experienced prejudice/discrimination • How old was your child? • Where did this happen (at work, in public, at child's school)? • Was your child present? • How did you talk to your child(ren) about that experience? • Do you remember exactly what you said to them? What they said to you? Has your child ever heard people saying bad things or making jokes about LGB parent families/people with 2 moms/2dads? Has your child ever talked to you about seeing LGBT students treated badly at school? Do you think your teachers/school administrators treat (child) differently because their parent(s) are LGB? What else is important for me to know about (child)'s school?	Have you experienced prejudice or discrimination because of your family structure/ sexuality/ gender identity or expression? • Tell me about a time that you experienced prejudice/discrimination • How old were you? • Where did this happen (in public, at school)? • How did you talk to your parent(s) about that experience? • Do you remember exactly what you said to them? What they said to you? Have you ever heard people saying bad things or making jokes about LGB parent families/people with 2 moms/2dads? Have you ever seen a LGBT student treated badly at school? Did you talk to your parent(s) about it? Tell me about the conversation. Do you remember exactly what you said to them? What they said to you? Do you think your teachers/school administrators treat you differently because your parent(s) are LGB? What else is important for me to know about your school?

Transition	Thanks for sharing your experiences with	Thanks for sharing your experiences with

	me! That's all I have for today.	me! That's all I have for today.
Mealtime Observation request	(If interviews took place in informant's home): I'd love it if next time we met you could give me a tour of your home and we could all have dinner. I'd bring some food with me to share with everyone. Can we meet here again next time? (If interviews took place somewhere other than informant's home): I'd love it if next time we met you could give me a tour of your home and we could all have dinner. I'd bring some food with me to share with everyone. Would it be okay for us to meet there next time? (if yes): Great! What kinds of food do you and your family like? Schedule time. (if no): Okay, I understand. Is there a restaurant you'd like to go to instead? Schedule time and place.	(If interviews took place in informant's home): I'd love it if next time we met you could give me a tour of your home and we could all have dinner. I'd bring some food with me to share with everyone. Can we meet here again next time? (If interviews took place somewhere other than informant's home): I'd love it if next time we met you could give me a tour of your home and we could all have dinner. I'd bring some food with me to share with everyone. Would it be okay for us to meet there next time? (if yes): What kinds of food do you and your family like? Schedule time. (if no): Okay, I understand. Is there a restaurant you'd like to go to instead? Schedule time and place.